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PREFACE

This number of the Bulletin is commemorative of the Birth Centenary of :—

(1) Dr. Ānanda. K. Kumāraswāmy.

(2) Prof. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār.

and

(3) Kavimaṇi Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai.

The Symposium on "The National Integration as reflected in Literature" (Tamil, Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada) which has been included deserves special mention.

This Bulletin closely follows the pattern adopted in the previous issues, viz., to devote greater attention to Tamil Traditions and Culture; and at the same time emphasise the bonds of the Traditional Cultures of the other regions of South and South East Asia.

In view of the large number of articles from scholars and the length of the reports of the Seminars, we are compelled to hold over some valuable articles. They will be published in the next issue. As in the previous issues, the authors were left free to use such diacritical marks as were adopted earlier in the Bulletins, in view of the separate systems of transliteration in Indian languages. The Institute is grateful to all scholars who have contributed articles on a variety of themes pertaining to Traditional Cultures which appear in this issue.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu as well as the Government of India for the continuance of their financial assistance to the Institute and its activities.

The University of Madras continues to accomodate the Institute in its building, providing it with the concomitant amenities and bears the entire cost of the paper and printing of issues of

Bulletin. The Institute is grateful to the University for all the valuable help, which enable it to continue to carry on its activities.

The Institute is thankful to the Heads and Staff members of all the Departments of the University for their kind and hearty co-operation in the activities of the Institute.

We are happy to make a special mention of our President (Ex-Officio) Dr. Malcolm. S. Adiseshiah, the Vice-Chancellor of the University for his valuable suggestions about the activities of the Institute, especially the Annual Conference, which was held in March last, and we are very grateful to him.

The Executive Committee has also given valuable assistance in running the Institute and deserves our thanks.

We are glad to inform that the next issue of this Bulletin will be a Special Number giving an account of the Annual Conference.

MADRAS.
25-11-1977.

DR. K. K. PILLAY,
Director.

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Dr. ANANDA. K. COOMARASWAMI

BY

Dr. K. K. PILLAY,
(*Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures.*)

We have great pleasure in publishing a special article on Dr. Ananda. K. Coomaraswamy in connection with his Birth-Centenary.

For a long time Western Art critics had a supreme contempt for Indian art. They looked down upon the non-human or supra-human element depicted in the images of Gods and Goddesses. Impersonal phenomena also were shown in a grotesquely distorted way. It was obviously on account of their inability or reluctance to understand the religious significance of these representations of art that the contemptuous observations were made by them. Perhaps the scurrilous attack on Hindu art began with the art critic Ruskin who, great as he was, failed to understand the spirit of Hindu art. Indeed he may be considered as the father of the school of misunderstanding of Indian Art in the West.

Ruskin said: "Indian art never presents a natural fact. It either forms its compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of line; or it represents that creature under some distorted and monstrous form. To all the facts and forms of Nature, it wilfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man, but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or zigzag."

It is likely that the views of writers like Maskell, Birdwood, Archer and Vincent Smith have had their roots in Ruskin's criticism. Most of these writers, speaking of the many-armed images of Indian art have treated this peculiarity as an unpardonable defect. V. A. Smith, a discerning critic in respect of several

works of Indian art, however, says: "After A.D. 300, Indian sculpture, properly so-called hardly deserves to be reckoned as art. The figures both of men and animals become stiff and formal, and the idea of power is clumsily expressed by the multiplication of members. The many-headed, many-armed Gods and Goddesses whose images crowd the walls and roofs of medieval temples have no pretensions to beauty and are frequently hideous and grotesque."[1]

Numerous writers have spoken of these 'hideous deities with animals' heads and innumerable arms'. Sir George Birdwood considers that "the monstrous shapes of the Purāṇic deities are unstable for the higher forms of artistic representation; and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India."[2] The real answer to this and several other similar accusations is that they betray a lack of understanding the religious and legendary background of these works of art.

Dr. Ananda. K. Coomaraswami is one of the earliest exponents of Indian art who exposed the unsoundness of the accusations of the early European writers. It is really marvellous how Dr. Coomaraswami blossomed into an exponent of art. Born on August 22, 1877, of Sri Muthu Coomaraswami, a noted lawyer of Colombo and Lady Elizabeth Clay Beeby, the English lady of Kent, young Coomaraswamy was on his father's death taken by his mother to England when he was barely a babe one year old. After a successful course in Wycliffe College, he joined the University of London and obtained the B.A. Degree in Geology and Botany. In his 26th year of age he was appointed as Director of the Mineralogical Survey of Sri Lanka. While he served Sri Lanka in this capacity he published two volumes on the 'Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon'. Returning to London, he qualified himself as a D.Sc. in the University of London.

Then he availed himself of opportunities as often as he could in travelling all over India, and fascinated by certain works of

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1910, Vol. II.

2. Industrial Arts of India, 1880, p. 125.

art he collected a large number of Indian drawings, paintings and bronzes.

A true scholar dedicated to studies, he was always engrossed in reading, thinking and writing. A prolific writer, he has to his credit more than 120 books and monographs, some 300 scholarly articles and well over 50 learned book reviews.

Prof. Ettinghausen, an American art critic wrote: "There are few scholars anywhere in the world whose publications cover a wider range than those of Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. His researches embrace philosophy, metaphysics, religion, iconography, Indian literature and arts, Islamic art, medieval art, music, geology and especially the place of art in society. More astounding than the sheer quantity of his publications are their extraordinary profoundity and originality".

A versatile savant, he had an abiding interest in several fields of study. But though a geologist, botanist, petrologist, and minerologist, his basic interest lay in art and the allied studies. Even early in his career he had made a beginning in this direction by his contributions on Kandyan architecture, Sinhalese earthenware, Sinhalese painting and Medieval Sinhalese art. In due course he focussed his attention on the art treasures of South East Asia. His work on History of Indian and Indonesian art is a classic.

After visiting several Hindu and Buddhist sites in Sri Lanka and India he turned his attention to the art treasures of India. He acquired a deep knowledge of several languages, particularly Sanskrit, Pāli and Tamil. It is surprising to learn that he was also at home in Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, Persian, Hindi and Sinhalese. But it is difficult to assess the depth of his knowledge in each of these. The intimate connection between art, language, religion and philosophy was appreciated by him and this wide perspective enabled him to bring to bear a true understanding and a critical outlook on these various branches of learning. No wonder he became an interpreter of the Indian culture to the outside world. Sir William Rothenstein,

the discerning critic did not make an overstatement when he wrote: "To-day, if India takes her due rank as a first-class artistic power, it is in a large measure owing to Coomaraswami." He was a master of not only sculpture, painting and iconography but he contributed to a true understanding of India and her culture by America and West in general. Like Romain Rolland he was bent on creating a true understanding of the universe in the field of art. This profound scholar was by no means a fanatical bigot or chauvinist. He realised the interplay of Aryan and Dravidian thought in the evolution of the Indian art and culture. He declared with sincere conviction that: "In a very real sense it was a marriage of North and South."

Among the Indians themselves, the petty divisions and partialities of religion and caste were beyond his wide outlook. It is worth while noting that in the midst of his concentration on the great contributions of the higher classes to Indian religion, philosophy and art he did not neglect the intensive study of the Yakshās and Gaṇās.

Nevertheless he realised the great role played by the Brahmins. Like Romain Rolland he applauded the Indian Brahmin as the basic creator of Indian culture. "Indian civilisation is Brahmin civilisation," said Coomaraswamy. He went a step further. He held that Indian philosophy is essentially the creation of the two upper classes of society, the Brahmins and the Kṣhatriyās. Clarifying the idea further he added: "To Kṣhatriyās are due most of its forward movements; to the former its elaboration, systematisation, mythical representation and application. The secret of Brahmin power is above all in the nature of their appointed *dharma*, of study, teaching and renunciation". No doubt these are ideals and they were strictly followed in early times.

The Kṣhatriya-Brahmin solution of the ultimate problems of life is given in the early Upaniṣhads. It is a form of absolute according to Shankarāchārya, or modified (according to Rāmānuja), Monism.

This assignment of a lofty place to the higher castes would not have been liked by the people of the non-brahmin castes in India. But he is one of those who wrote without fear or favour. He is intolerant of cant and history written to please the gallery. At the same time he was not opposed to caste. He said: 'A man can be a *Brahmin* only if he has proved himself to be one. I would like to see, not the abolition of caste, but the intensification of caste in this direction. In this sense, only the discoverer to truth, the creative artist and the teacher can be Brahmins, and not the Brahmin cooks, the Brahmin clerks, and all the other so-called born Brahmins.'[3]

Nor was he an opponent of Buddhism. Indeed he had a profound admiration for Buddha's teachings and his appreciation of Buddhist ascetics is also conspicuous. His idea was that the Buddha was typically Indian. It is difficult to separate what is Buddhist from what is generally Hindu. And he draws pointed attention to one of those celebrated edicts of Asoka which proclaimed that 'All men are my children.'

A distinctive feature of Coomaraswami as an art critic is that he saw and appreciated art through the religious background. He once said "No day passes in which I do not read the scriptures and the works of the great philosophers of all ages so far as they are accessible to me in modern Indian languages and in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. I am wholly convinced that there is one truth that shines through them all in many shapes, a truth greater in glory by far than can be circumscribed by any creed or confined by the walls of any church or temple". This is truly religion of the highest order. He adds with feeling: "Let us tell the painful truth that most of these works (of art) are about God, whom nowadays we never mention in polite society."[4] That the religious scholasticism was the basis of Indian art was brought to the fore by Coomaraswami. On the other

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3. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar in his article "The Ananda Coomaraswamy I Knew" in the "Hindu" of August 28, 1977.

4. *Ibid.*

hand, E. B. Havell was the first Western art critic who realised the spiritual background of Indian art.

How religion and art are seen with equally open eyes can be found from Coomaraswamy's warm appreciation of the sitting Buddha as the Dancing Shiva. The facial expressions of these masterpieces of art he admires. A like impersonality appears in the facial expression of all the finest Indian sculptures. Says he: "If the dancing figure stands for evolution the ever-lasting becoming the *Yogi* type of the seated Buddha is an equally dramatic image of withdrawal, of complete independence, of involution." He appreciated Christian art also. This is seen from his book "Christian and Indian philosophy."

He goes on to add that these creations of art are not the freaks of individual artisans but that they are products of a long tradition. Says he: "Images such as the dancing Shiva or the seated Buddha are the work of a school, not of any artist." All the essentials are passed on from father to son. The great craftsmen who made the world-famous bronze images of Shiva have not unfortunately left behind a tradition. Practically after the days of the imperial Çōlās and more particularly after the age of the Nāyaks there was a decline and their arts deteriorated and became stilted and artificial.

Dance of Shiva: It is common knowledge that he showed how the artistic workmanship of dancing Shiva has become the pride of India and the wonder of the world. He has expounded clearly that the entire piece is based on a profound study of Tiruvāchagam, Tirumantiram and Sanskrit works like 'Shiva Pradōsha stōtra' and 'Kathā Sarit Sāgara'. He admires how the pose, the limbs and ornamentations speak vividly the underlying thought of the great dance of Shiva, Naṭarāja, the prince of dancers. Coomaraswamy explains how the Dance of Shiva represents the five activities of the supreme creation, preservation, destruction, veiling of embodiment and ultimately salvation. These are considered respectively as depicting the activities of Brahmā, Viṣhnu, Rudra, Mahēsvara and Sadāsiva.

Even the worst scoffer at religion cannot ignore the inner meaning and the subtle co-ordination of art with religion. Coomaraswamy himself admired the grandeur of this conception as a synthesis of science, religion and art.

"Shiva is said to dance in the evening in the presence of the Goddess Pārvati in order to relieve the sufferings of the *dēvās.* The dance of Naṭarāja is believed to symbolize the action of cosmic energy in creating, preserving and destroying the visible Universe. The Purāṇas say that during those dances the whole congregation of Gods, demi-gods and saints present themselves to render their obeisance to Shiva. Hence the name Sabhāpati means "the Lord of the Assembly of Gods".[5]

Though religion provides a background for the understanding of art, it does not mean that outside the context of the religious basis one cannot appreciate art. How many Hindus have admired excellent pieces of Christian art or Islamic art? Even so the "Dance of Shiva" has been appreciated later by non-Hindus also after Dr. Coomaraswamy enlightened the world on the glory of this masterpiece of art. Several European art critics have admired the language of gesture in Indian art.

Take for instance what Grousset says: "The King of the Dance wears a broad smile. He smiles at death and at life, at pain and at joy alike, or rather, if we may be allowed so to express it, his smile is both death and life, both joy and pain. The plastic beauty of rhythm is no more than the expression of an ideal rhythm. The very multiplicity of arms puzzling as it may seem at first sight, is subject in turn to an inward law, each pair remaining a model of elegance in itself, as that the whole being of the Naṭarāja thrills with a magnificent harmony in his terrible joy."[6] Coomaraswamy showed that behind the dance there is the manifestation of primal rhythmic energy.

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5. H. Krishna Sastry: *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* p. 79.

6. Grousset, India (English translation), p. 252 and see Havell; *Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 79.

If he appreciated Dance, he did not ignore the sister art of Music. In fact his view was that music was of Vēdic origin and that it developed to a great height during the golden age of the Guptās. But it is remarkable that he has not said anything about the contribution of the South to the music of India. He has failed to realise that there was a co-ordination of the patterns of music of both North India and South India. It is inexplicable how he has not taken note of the celebrated Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayam inscriptions of music. But he has made a systematic attempt to compare the musical systems of West with those of India. He has comprehended Indian music of old in its true religious setting and he contended that music was not merely an art but life itself. The emotional appeal of music to the inner soul and to the religious fervour of the people was effectively expounded by him.

Taking every aspects of art and spirituality into consideration he held that India, dominated by the West, had a great lesson to teach the world. In his scintillating essay 'What has India Contributed to Human Welfare' he observes that the essential contribution of India is simply her "*Indianness*", her distinctive individuality, inherited from times of old. He wrote: "All that India can offer to the world proceeds from her philosophy. Philosophy is the key to the map of life." He pleaded fervently that this Indianness must be preserved and developed but he forgot what Alberuni stressed decades ago that Indla had developed a self-complacence and intellectual arrogance. Coomaraswami was however, against the Westernisation of the educational system of India. His contention was that the Western system of education was not suited to India and her genius. It will ultimately have a deadening influence on the individuality of Indian culture. In his own words he warned Indians of the 'Proselytizing fury' of Occidential civilisation. He added: "Life is larger than bath tubs, radios and refrigerators. I am afraid the higher the standard of living, the lower the culture." Naturally he appealed to the

Indians that we must cherish our Indianness.[7] Even when India achieved her independence his cry was "Be yourself" and he added that "nations are created by artists and poets, not by merchants and politicians. In art lie the deepest life principles." Everyone may not agree with the implication that the West has to teach India nothing. Nor is he right in underrating the value of Western education and even literacy.

But he did not preach intellectual exclusiveness or isolation on the part of India. He admired the Rabindranath Tagore's philosophy of "Vishwa Bharati" and appreciated the ideal of founding a school of Oriental learning which would attract scholars from all parts of the world. He was by no means an isolationist or cultural chauvinist. His desire was to bring about an intimate cultural understanding between the East and West. In fact "his idealistic approach to nationalism combined the nationalistic spirit of Mazzini, the intellectual freedom of Emerson and the aesthetic insight of Ananda Vardhana.[7]

His noblest ideal was cultural internationalism. Though he extolled the East against the West, his mature writings show that he appreciated all that was best in other cultures and traditions. Indeed, Dr. Aldous Huxley has recorded that "he was able to profit by the extraodinary combination of vast learning and penetrating insight which gave to Dr. Coomaraswamy his unique importance as a mediator between the East and West." Dr. Coomaraswamy's Universalism combined harmoniously with admiration of Indian art is his distinguishing contribution to world thought. If Dr. Coomaraswamy opened the eyes of the world to the treasures of Indian art it is the Boston Museum which provided the wonderful opportunity for this noble work. Suppose he had accepted an appointment in the Benares University or

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7. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy asserted that the educational pattern should not produce "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" as Macaulay wished. Airavathan Ranganathan in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1962.

even in a South Indian University or Sri Lanka University he might have wasted his life. In all probability he would have lost himself in intrigue and self adulation. Therefore his inborn love of art, his assiduous study as well as the excellent opportunity offered by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts where he worked about thirty years have contributed to the true appreciation of Indian Art. Let us in this year of his birth centenary pay our homage to Dr. Ananda. K. Coomaraswamy and also our sincere gratitude to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

INDIAN CULTURE—AN AMALGAM OF DRAVIDIAN AND ARYAN

BY

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN, M.A., L.T.,

(Director, Sanskrit Division, Tamil Sanskrit and other Indian Languages Research Institute, Madras.)

There was a time when it was presumed that all that was great and good and characteristic in Indian Culture was evolved by the civilized Aryans. This has given place to a more sober apprisal in recent years. The discovery of the Indus Valley civilization served as a corrective to the earlier belief equating Indian culture with Aryan culture. It is now being increasingly realised how great and penetrative is the contribution of the Non-Aryans particularly the Dravidians in the diverse fields of language, literature, religion, philosophy, arts, customs and rituals.

From ancient times India has been visited successively by people belonging to several racial groups which became absorbed into the larger population inhabiting this country. The race fusion is an inevitable feature of Indian civilisation. This is evident from the fact that the word 'Ārya' which perhaps originally stood for a race later came to mean 'one marked with nobility' in which sense it is found used in the Smṛtis, dramas and later works in Sanskrit.

It is not an easy task to state in precise terms the extent to which the Dravidians or Austrics or the Mongoloids who have been identified as Pre-Aryan inhabitants of India have contributed to the texture of Indian culture but still attempts have not been wanting in identifying certain facets of Indian culture as being in all probability the contribution of one or other of the Pre-Aryan inhabitants in India.

No doubt the Aryan element gave the newly formed Indian culture form and unity, discipline and order, but it was mainly the Pre-Aryan Kol-Dravidian element on which the superstructure of Indian culture was erected.

The extent and degree of the impact of the one on the other varied from time to time and from region to region due to several factors, historical and others, such as migration royal patronage etc.

According to Father Heras the Indus Valley people and the Dravidians of South India belonged to the same stock of people speaking the Dravidian language. "The Modern South India" says A. L. Basham, "is a blend of Mediterranean and Proto—Australoid, the two chief ethnic factors in the Harappa culture. Moreover, the Harappa religion seems to show many similarities with those elements of Hinduism which are specially popular in Dravidian country. In the hills of Baluchistan, are the Brahuis who though ethnically now predominantly Iranian, speak a Dravidian language".

The excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Lothal and Rangpur have thrown up new facts of society that was sufficiently advanced in civilisation during the contemporary period. The latest interpretation of the Indus Valley script by Finnish scholars lends support to the views of earlier scholars like Mortimer Wheeler and Father Heras regarding the Dravidian character of the Indus civilisation. The civilisation bears testimony to the existence of a society comprising a city dwelling, artistic and cultured people who worshipped a three-horned dancing God, a God that has been held to represent the Non-Aryan God Śiva, in his role as the dancing God.

"Śiva is pre-eminently the Prince of Yogis, whence his name Mahātapā and Mahāyogī, the typical ascetic......Like Śaivism itself. Yoga had its origin among the Pre-Aryan population......Śiva is not only the Prince of Yogis; he is also the lord of beasts (Paśupati) and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his nature, that the four animals—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo—are

grouped about him......We have then on this seal a God whose distinguishing attributes proclaim him the prototype, in his most essential aspects, of the historic Śiva". Here, if anywhere, may be recognised one of the Pre-Aryan elements, which were to survive the Aryan invasion and to play a dominant role in the so called Aryan culture of the post-Vedic period.

Śiva is given the name 'Śūli' a trident bearer. The Triśūla has its precursor perhaps in three horns on the head of the God of the Indus valley.

When the Aryans entered North India there were besides the Dravidians, the Austrics by which we mean the Khasis of Assam and the speakers of Munda language called 'Nishādas' in Sanskrit and Mongolians who inhabited Assam and parts of Bengal and Tibet called 'Kirātas' in Sanskrit. It is accepted by Indologists like Prof. Burrow, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and others that Dravidian speakers must have been widespread in the north of India and present as far towards the northwest as the Punjab even in the very early times (Pre-Vedic) of the presence of Aryan speakers there,' Coming nearer home Dr. V. Raghavan has stated in his book '*Sanskrit Literature*':—

'Sanskrit was wise enough to retain its all India character by not only incorporating within itself regional vocabulary but also lending itself freely to influence from the speakers of the Non-Indo-European population of the country, Austric-Munda and the Dravidian'.

In this context I want to make one thing clear. (1) Occurrence of common ideas in the literature of two different languages need not necessarily imply that the one borrowed the ideas from the other. Each could have developed on its own or have a common source. (2) The mere fact that something occurs in a Sanskrit text does not imply that it is alien to Tamil or that it is an exclusively Aryan contribution. This is a popular fallacy. The writers of Sanskrit hail from all regions of India. Their ideas are the ideas of the people speaking different regional languages

of their own, following different culture patterns, adopting different styles of living, rituals and practices. Language being only a garb none can vouchsafe for the authenticity of the contents and no one group can claim monopoly of ideas. As Thiruvaḷḷuvar puts it 'Wisdom rests in cognising the truth from whomsoever it is learnt'. (Kural)

Everybody is agreed that all the languages in India both in the north and the south have been influenced by Sanskrit in some measure or other. But very few realise that Sanskrit too owes in several respects to the other, what may be called Non-Aryan languages. Among them Dravidian is the most important.

In fact, Dr. Gundert, the Kannaḍa linguist says—'We scarcely meet in India a Native philologist who would be willing to acknowledge the existence of Dravidian elements in Sanskrit while we meet with many who boldly take upon themselves to derive from the corruptions of Sanskrit the whole of Dravidian vocabulary".

It is the considered view of several Indologists like Rhys Davis, S. K. Chatterjee, Grierson, Fr. Heras and others that the cultural intermixture of the Aryan and Dravidian had taken place even in Pre-Vedic times. S. K. Chatterjee goes to the extent of saying that a bulk of the texture of Indian culture is Dravidian. No one can fail to recognise however the tremendous influence that Sanskrit exercised in giving shape and unity to the Indian culture, patterns of thought and forms of expression. In fact, in the early stage since the time of Aśoka, Sanskrit and Prakrit cultures were known to the people of the south but it was rather through Prakrit than Sanskrit. This accounts for the existence of Tamiḷ and Prakrit words in the inscriptions discovered in the Madurai and Tirunelvēli districts early in the century and ascribed paleographically to about the 3rd century B.C. Sanskrit could not make its influence felt in Tamiḷ Nāḍu until about the 4th century A.D., when the Pallavas who were patrons of Prakrit turned their attention to Sanskrit which came therefore to be used

more and more for secular purposes. When royal patronage was extended to Sanskrit by the Pallavas and Cōḷas, the Nāyaks and Mahrattas, we find a large output of Sanskrit literature in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

Tamiḻ and Sanshrit are the two rich and ancient languages of India. Both of them are repositories of a rich and hoary culture. The importance of both has been recognised in our country for ages. The tradition that Śiva revealed Sanskrit to Pāṇini and Tamiḻ closely related to it to Agastya is suggestive of this. These two languages have come to be accepted as equally great and highly useful languages as early as the days of saint Tirunāvukkarasar who proclaimed similarly Aryan kaṇṭāy Tamiḻan kaṇṭāy.

The Śaiva philosophers look to the Scriptures in Sanskrit and the Śāstras and hymns in Tamiḻ as source books on Saivism. So the Vaishṇavas turn to the Vēdas and Upaniṣads as well as to the Prabandhas in Tamiḻ. It is but natural for people speaking two different languages to get influenced by one another. Linguistic borrowings are never a one way traffic. Give and take is inevitable in society. We have ample evidence of syncretism in philosophy and religion and culture and naturally in language too we have enough evidence of mutual influence.

Though it has been largely accepted by linguists all over that Tamiḻ and Sanskrit belong to two different families yet it is well that we notice one or two points. In Tamiḻ there is only one suffix to denote both gender and number and another suffix to denote case. Hence the three elements gender, number and case are denoted only by two suffixes. For example in the words *avanai, avaḷai, avarai, atanai,* and *avaṟṟai,-n* denotes masculine singular,*-ḷ* denotes feminine singular,*-r* denotes masculine feminine plural,—*tu* denotes non-rational singular irrespective of male or female and*-ai* (in avai) non-rational plural. In all these words the ending*-ai* denotes the case (accusative). In Sanskrit for example the word 'Rāmam' (Ram+a+am)—'*a*' denotes the gender and —'*am*', case and number.

This distinction besides the classification of words into *uyartiṇai* (rational beings) and *ahṟiṇai* (non-rational beings and objects) and the distinction of gender in verbs among others would point to the fact that Tamiḻ and Sanskrit are members of different morphological groups of languages.

The division of land into five *tiṇais* viz. *mullai* (forest region), *kuṟiñci* (mountain region), *marutam* (plains), *neytal* (coastal region) and *pālai* (sandy tract) which are closely related to literary themes is another distinctive feature of Tamiḻ language for, in Sanskrit poetics there is no invariable connection between the description of 'love in union' and the mountainous region as in Tamiḻ literature.

Yet the treatment of phonetics, cases, *meippāḍus* (emotions), structure of sentence etc in *Tolkāppiyam* which indicates certain common features with Sanskrit tend to point to some sort of contact and awareness of one another's system of language, though there may be difference of opinion among the scholars about the extent and character of such mutual influence.

Tolkāppiyar was candid enough to state categorically that words of Aryan languages (Sanskrit and Prakrit) formed a component part of Tamiḻ language when he speaks about '*Vaṭaçol.*' Though it may be possible that Tolkāppiyar was conversant with several treatises on grammar like Vēdic *Prātiśākhyas* and others besides Vēdic, classical and Prakrit languages, it is hazardous to assert that his work was indebted to them to any great extent merely on the ground that there are a few sūtras suggestive of some ideas in the Vēdas, *Mahābhārata*, Smṛti, Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāmasūtra etc. It has to be borne in mind that Sanskrit was modified by the native speakers whom the Aryans encountered ever since the Vēdic period both in regard to its form viz. language and content viz. concepts, practices, legends etc. embedded in Sanskrit literature. A Dravidologist need not be perturbed or a Sanskritist elated when a parallel is drawn between *Tolkāppiyam* or any other Tamiḻ classical work on the one hand and a piece of literature in Sanskrit on the other, as the ideas and expressions

in Sanskrit have a common Indian home inhabited for a very long period by Dravidians, Austrics and Aryans whose joint output they are. Sanskrit being a link language from the very inception naturally reflects not solely the Aryan features but also those of the speakers of Dravidian and other languages. Still it is possible to identify, though not conclusively, by careful analysis certain strands of thought and expression of the Dravidian and Aryan without any backdrop of high or low, superior or inferior in regard to any language or culture.

The Aryan and the Dravidian, contributions in the field of language still survive in the two distinct groups of languages spoken in India, the Indo-Aryan group in the North comprising Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Mahārāṣhṭri, Bengali etc. and the Dravidian group in the south comprising Tamiḻ, Malayāḷam, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tulu etc.

Modern linguists like Emeneau and Burrow have been able to identify more and more pockets of Dravidian languages in central and North India besides Nepal. For instance, in the fifties of this century and thereafter languages like Parji, Naiki, Gadba, Ollari, Konda and Pengo have been identified as members of the Dravidian family of languages. One can therefore rationally explain the mixed character of the present day north Indian languages sharing the character of Dravidian and Aryan speech right down from the Vēdic age.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a doyen among Indian linguisticians, states, "Already in Vēdic speech we find plentiful evidence of the influence of Dravidian, as much as of Austric in Phonology, in some aspects of morphology and also of Syntax and of course in vocabulary and idiom".

Prof. Burrow has listed certain words in Sanskrit as of Dravidian origin by applying certain basic principles including the one viz. the word being widely distributed in the various members of the Dravidian family and not having an Indo-European etymology and making its appearance late in the history of Sanskrit.

The following may illustrate the point—

anala 'fire'—anal (Tam), anal (M), analu (Kan).

ulūkhala 'mortar',—ulakkai (Tam), ulakka (M), olake (Kan), rōkali (Tel).

eḍa 'goat'—āṭu (Tam), āṭu (M), āḍu (Kan), ēḍu (Tul)' ēṭa (Tel), yēṭi (Go), hēṭ (Brahui).

Kaṭhina 'hard', kaṭṭi (Tam), kaḍugu (Kan) gaṭṭi (Tu), kaṭṭıdi (Tel).

Kānana 'forest'—'kā', 'kāṉ', 'kāṉam' (Tam), ka (Kan), 'kāvu' (Mal).

Paṇḍita—'wise', 'mature', pāṇḍu (Tel), paṇḍ (Go) paṇḍa (pj).

daṇḍa 'stick'—'taṇṭu' (Tam), 'daṇṭu' (Kan), 'daṇṭu' (Tu), daṇṭu (Tel).

mahiḷā 'woman'—'makaḷ' (Tam), 'makaḷ' (Ma) magaḷu (Tu).

muraja 'drum'—'muracu' (Tam), 'mural' (Tam), 'more' (Kan), 'morayu' (Tel).

Heramba 'buffalo'—'erumai' (Tam), 'erima' (Mal), 'emme' (Kan), erme (Tu).

Words of Dravidian origin such as *ulūkhala, kuṇḍa, daṇḍa, mayūra, bila* etc. are already found in the Rig Veda. The impact was however significant during the post—Vedic period both in Sanskrit and Prākrit. This would imply that Dravidian speakers lived during this period in the Gaṅgetic plain and Madhya deśa besides the northwest of India where Brahui remains to this day as a representative of Northwestern Dravidian.

At the end of a long list of words of Dravidian origin, a few of which have been cited above, Dr. Burrow concludes, 'It has become clear that quite a considerable portion of the Sanskrit vocabulary is of Dravidian origin and that this influence has operated over a long period in the history of the language'.

Dr. S. K. Chatterjee cites further examples of such words as *aṇu, kapi, nila, rātri, rūpa* etc.

Jean Przyluski has traced several Sanskrit words to Austric language eg. *kārpāsa, tāmbūla, kadali, kambala, lāngala, bāṇa* etc.

Besides the word '*aśva*' meaning 'horse' in Sanskrit, the word '*ghoṭa*' also occurs. This appears to be a Prakritic formation of a Proto-South Dravidian word gutra-mu yielding the forms '*kutirai*' in Tamil, 'kudure' in Kannaḍa and 'guṟṟamu' in Telugu. In the same manner 'śāli' meaning horse in 'Śālivāhana' is traceable to the Kol (Austric) word for the 'horse'. The word 'Śāli-hotra' (horse) in Sanskrit would appear to be an Austric+Dravidian translation compound.

Another field in which Dravidian influence is felt in Sanskrit is in the field of phonetics. Dr. Caldwell, Prof. Burrow, Dr. Balakrishna Ghosh, W. L. Graff and several others are of the view either that Sanskrit came to possess the cacuminial dentals on account of its spreading over the territory inhabited by the Dravidian speakers among whom these peculiar sounds are in common use or at least that the usage of such sounds was accelerated by the Dravidian contact.

For a later day influence on the Indo-Aryan language we may note the pattern of phrases in Hindi similar to Tamil—e.g. *ghar-ke pās = Viṭṭiṟkup-pakkattil.*

We find here the agglutinative nature of Tamil language reflected in Hindi, a language allied morphologically to Sanskrit where the same idea is expressed in the synthetic form '*upagṛham*'. We find such tendencies towards analysis from synthesis, an earlier phase of the language.

In Tamil we find echo words like *kuttrai—kittrai, māṭu—kiṭu* etc. which are absent in Sanskrit. Such words, however, are found in *ghorāṭorā* (Bengali), *ghoḍā-biḍā* (Marathi), *ghoḍo-bōḍō* (Gujarati), *ghoṛā-uṛā* (*Hindi*) which points again to Dravidian influence. Another instance is 'paṭu' the passive sign in Tamil which seems to have given rise to the Middle Indo-Aryan 'paṛ'.

Again a Dravidian phrase like '*eṭuttukkoṇṭu vā*' in Tamil, '*Tisikōni rā*' in Telugu, served as prototype for the Bengali usage '*laiya aisa*' in the place of single inflected word like Sanskrit '*ānaya*'.

Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, speaking about the Beṅgāli language, says that in Beṅgāli the stress is of a dominant initial variety and is found in isolated words. Each sentence is split up into a number of breath groups and in each breath group there is one dominant stress which always falls on the initial syllable of the first word. This peculiar stress rhythm is quite contrary to the fixed stress system of Hindi, in which we find the stress to be generally on a long syllable towards the end of the word and this stress is not so much subservient to the sentence rhythm; and it has been sought to be explained as another indication of the non-Aryan substratum—initial stress being the characteristic of Dravidian.

To indicate the sense of plurality after the loss of plural affixes inherited from OIA the system of forming the plural by agglutination or compounding was more widely adopted in the Indo-Aryan languages. This agglutination is suggestive of Dravidian influence.

e.g. *Sab-log*, '*manavkul*' *lok guli ke* (to the men)
bandar-logo-se (from the monkeys) etc.

Hindusthani has approximated itself to the system of thought processes of the Non-Aryan speeches of the country-Dravidian and Kol (Munda) so that a Dravidian or Kol speaker may find Hindi words and roots different from those of his own language but he does not find much difference in the order of words and idioms unlike English.

The syntax of Aryan languages also betrays Dravidian influence though it cannot be claimed that they are identical in all respects.

Sanskrit and Hindi too, unlike English which is a fellow member of the Indo-European family, has its sentence structure modelled on the Dravidian pattern owing to long and deep acquaintance with the latter.

For example, compare the following sentences:—

English—She begins to sing.
Tamiḻ—Avaḷ pāṭat toṭaṅkukiṟāḷ.
Sanskrit—Sā gātum pravṛttā.
Hindi—Vah gāne lagtī hae.

In English the finite verb closely follows the subject whereas in Tamiḻ, Sanskrit and Hindi the verb comes last.

As in the early days of their settlement in India, the Aryans had some amount of contact with the indigenous non-Aryans, some of whom were even Aryanised for their ready adaptability to the Aryan manners and customs, it is not unlikely that a number of words and expressions of non-Aryan origin might have been naturalised in the language of the Aryans. The language thus developed out of this close association between the two linguistic groups is held by some scholars to account in part for the origin of Prakrits besides other causes like economy of effort etc.

Economy of effort or tendency for simplification, progressive refinement in courts, cities etc., softening influence of the climate and the influence of non-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan speech—these are supposed to have caused the Prakritic languages.

'The so called Dravidian elements found in Prakrit dialects would go back to the same Vēdic age or still earlier when there was cultural contact between the two races, Dravidians on the one side and Aryans on the other. Both Vēdic and Dravidian speeches were characterised by the assimilation of words from each other and thus foreign words crept into the language of Aryans which in later times were made their own and were not considered to be different from their own day to day speech. They had also come as a legacy to the Prakrit or the then vernaculars which evolved naturally from the ancient language including Vedic and even pre-Vedic along with the classical stage'.

Speaking about the Dravidian origin of some of the words in Sanskrit, M. B. Emeneau observes, 'We can be sure of Dravidian origin for a few proper names; e.g. the late Vēdic and

epic hero '*Naḷa*' seems to have a Dravidian name 'the good (or handsome) man' and the southern Malaya mountains have a name derived from the Dravidian, malay, 'mountain'. Even the interjection 'aye' of the dramas probably, has a Dravidian origin. It is unexpected to find that 'kalā'—"an art" (epic and later) which has not been provided with an Indo-European etymology, is probably derived from the Dravidian verb '*kal*'—'to learn'.

With the advent of Jainism and Buddhism there was a great ferment in the ritual—centred Vedic India. The traditional teachings of Vaidika dharma were reformulated. A new code of conduct was drafted within the ambit of the ancient dharma that could appeal even to those who may not accept the authority of the Vēdas.

With the spread of Buddhism and Jainism in the south about the 3rd century B.C. contact between Tamiḻ on the one hand and Prākrit and Pāli on the other was facilitated. From about the 4th century A.D. Sanskrit came to spread more widely. Early Pallavas were patrons of Jainism and Jaina works in Prākrit. Later Pallavas began to patronise Śaivism and Vaishnavism and Sanskrit, too. With the spread of Sanskrit learning Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophies were introduced into Tamiḻakam. Āchāryas like Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva who hailed from areas where Dravidian languages were current contributed largely to Sanskrit philosophical literature. This is because Sanskrit came to be accepted as a link language among the various regions of India. In this context we would do well to note that Sanskrit texts in Tamiḻ Nāḍu sometimes project the view point of the Tamiḻ people and reflect to some extent their culture though the themes may be common to similar works in the north. The Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas bear testimony to this aspect.

The Buddhists and Jains, particularly the latter though they speak their own languages Pāli or Māgadhī made remarkable contributions to Tamiḻ literature, grammar, lexicography etc. *Çilappatikāram*, *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*, *Yaśodarakāvyam*, *Perunkatai*, *Dīvākaram*, *Nannūl* etc. are some of their significant contributions

to Tamiḻ literature. In them we find the influence of Sanskrit either directly or through Prākrit.

The division of *Çilappatikāram* into 'kāṇḍas', of *Civakacintāmaṇi* into 'lambakas', of *Yaśodarakāvyam* into Sargas, of *Kambarāmāyaṇam* into paṭalas, point to the growing tendency among the poets of Tamiḻnāḍu to adopt the form of literature of their Sanskrit compeers. The *Civakacintāmaṇi* of the Jain monk, Tiruttakkatēvar is said to be based on the Sanskrit kāvya, *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* though the other view also is held by some scholars. The *Perunkatai* of Koṅguvēḷir is claimed to be an adaptation of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśāchī prākrit. If Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddhist poet philosopher wrote *Buddhacarita* in Sanskrit in kāvya style to propagate Buddhism, Cittalaiccāttanār did the same when he wrote the *Maṇimekalai* kāppiyam in Tamiḻ.

With the change of complexion of Tamiḻ language consequent on the intrusion of Sanskrit and Prākrit elements and the prestige that Sanskrit gained as a pan Indian language, a new approach to the study of language set in. The result is the contribution of Cēnāvaraiyar, Pavaṇanti, Buddhamitra, Śivajñānasvāmigaḷ etc. In fact *Viracōḻiyam* goes to the extent of discussing Tamiḻ grammar in terms of Sanskrit divisions and Sandhi, taddhita, kriyāpāda etc. which are not strictly relevant for a study of Tamiḻ grammar. The Jains were perhaps the first to use a style of Tamiḻ which showed a free admixture of Tamiḻ and Sanskrit on a par with the admixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit in the north. This came to be known as 'maṇipravāḷa' (a combination of gems and pearls) which was exploited to the full extent by the Tamiḻ Vaishṇavas later. Many of the Tamiḻ poets of the mediaeval period were masters of both Tamiḻ and Sanskrit. Divākarar, after whose name the first well-known Tamiḻ lexicographic work is styled, is described as 'Vaṭanūṛkaracan, tenṛamiḻkkaviñan kaviyarangēṛrum ubhayakavippulavan'.

In the Jaina works in Tamiḻ Prakrit words like uyyānam (Sanskrit: udyāna), teran (Sanskrit:sthavira), pikku (Sanskrit:bhikṣu), tammam, (Sanskrit: dharma), pakki (Sanskrit: pakṣi), aiṭam (Sans-

krit: artha), vaṇṇam (Sanskrit: varṇa), āṇai (Sanskrit: ājñā), niccal (Sanskrit: nitya) etc. find a place.

In the *Kambarāmāyaṇam* and Villiputtūrār's *Mahābhāratam* Sanskrit words like 'parijana, bhaya vetra, nāyaka, sīkara, kara, diśai, śikhara, yuga etc. occur. The *Dēvāram*, *Tiruvāçakam* and *Nālāyira prapandam* contain quite a number of Sanskrit as well as Tamiḻised Sanskrit words besides allusions to several episodes recounted in the Purāṇas which in turn contain episodes of a mixed character both Aryan and non-Aryan. Philosophical and technical terms of Sanskritic origin such as cariyai, kiriyai, yōgam, jñānam, supakkam, parapakkam etc. tiruṭṭāntam, viyatti, karutta, kāraṇam etc. come to be largely used in Tamiḻ philosophical texts.

The study of *Tolkāppiyam* and early Tamiḻ literature coupled with the strong and persistent tradition about the classification of Tamiḻ literature into *iyal* (poetry), *isai* (music) and *nāṭakam* (drama) point to the existence of several works in Tamiḻ belonging to these branches over 2000 years ago. The Tamiḻ classics of the Sangam period refer to the patronage of pāṇar, kūttar, paraṇar and viṟaliar (musicians, dancers, actors and actresses). On the other hand in Vedic literature we seldom find reference to such arts as music and dance, the earliest reference to actors being only in Pāṇini. Prof. Indushekhar in his book '*Sanskrit Drama—its origin and decline*' observes that the Aryans attained the leadership in the spiritual and intellectual fields whereas arts and crafts were still in the hands of the non-Aryan population. In view of such scanty reference to dance and drama in the Vēdic literature and the fact that the Dravidian population in the South had been from the very beginning associated with the development of dance, music and acting as evidenced from their earliest literature, we may suppose that the non-Aryan influence on the development of these arts in the country must be considerable.

The early Aryans knew of the existence of heavenly dyaus—father and the earthly pṛthivī—mother. These have been replaced by the Dravidian god Śiva riding on a bull and the goddess Chaṇḍi riding on a lion. Bharata refers to the origin of dance

of the 'wild' and 'mild' type to these two, Lord Śiva and Pārvatī. They are supposed to have originated the tāṇḍava and the lāsya types of dance. Professor Indushekhar makes the suggestion that Bharata can as well refer to a non-Aryan tribe who practised the art of dance. This gains plausibility as he says, on account of Bharatanāṭyam being a speciality of Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

It may be noted that there is a large measure of agreement between Bharata and Tolkāppiyar in regard to the number of Rasas or Meippāḍus as Tolkāppiyar would call them. This agreement between the two can be seen in regard to some at least of the concepts of Sthāyibhāvas (sentiments) and Vyabhicāribhāvas (transitory feelings). A study of these two texts would show some common ground between the two schools. Pērāśiriyar, a commentator on *Tolkāppiyam*, refers to school of rhetoricians who include Śānta and omit Raudra in the list of 8 rasas. Tolkāppiyar refers to 32 meippāḍus in sūtra 12 besides the 8 in the earlier sūtra without making any marked distinction between the two groups whereas Bharata would distinguish the 33 vyabhicāribhāvas from 8 sthāyibhavas. This would tend to show that the Tamiḻ school follows a certain distinct line of thought in this field though they share in common with the Nāṭya śāstra the general scheme of rasas and bhāvas. This is another instance of that intimate relationship which had developed between the Aryan and Dravidian groups even prior to the days of Tolkāppiyar.

According to Sir Charles Elliot, Indian religion is commonly regarded as the offspring of an Aryan religion brought into India by invaders from the North and modified by their contact with the Dravidian civilization. The religion of the South appears to have had an independent existence in the beginning though it was influenced later by the Aryan religion. In certain respects the Dravidians retained their own modes of worship and practices unaffected by the Aryans. According to Professor Seshagiri Sastri while the early part of the Hindu religion is based upon the Vedas, smṛtis and Āgamas, its latter part owes its origin to the customs, manners and religions of southern India. It may however be borne in mind that even in the Pre-Vēdic era the religion of

the Aryans was influenced by the Dravidian religion and some of the Dravidian gods were absorbed in the Vedic pantheon. The earlier Dravidians worshipped a number of deities like Korravai, Muruga, Varuṇa etc. Stevensan, Wheeler, Pope and others held that Śiva was a Dravidian God absorbed in the Indian religion of later days. 'Śiva was worshipped by them both as an object of meditation as represented in the Mohenjadaro civilization as well as a symbol or 'linga' representing the Supreme Being. As Dr. Gilbert Slater says the reference to phallic worship in Ṛig Veda is a pointer to the prevalence of worship of Śiva among the Dravidians in the Pre-Vēdic period.

Those Vedic gods who have no counterpart in the other Indo-European speaking peoples and who figure only in the Vedas can in all probability be considered as being non-Aryan. Rudra which according to some is a god who is 'red' was later identified with Śiva the god again who is 'red'. Korravai, the goddess, worshipped by the earliest Tamiḷs and who is respected in every village in South even today in the form of Kāḷi, Māriyamman etc. is another Dravidian goddess. The god of agriculturists came to be identified with Vēdic Indra and the god of the seas of the Dravidian with Vēdic Varuṇa. Even god Krishṇa, the god of Dravidian pastoral tribes, came to be identified with the Vedic Vishṇu. Fire worship of the early Vedic period gradually fell into disuse due to contact with the Dravidian peoples or non-Aryan worshippers. According to Sri P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, 'the original religious cult of India was a fireless one. The rise of the Vedic fire cult could not put an end to the pre-existing fireless worship of the Gods'. The destruction of Daksha's sacrifice by Śiva and his hordes represents the conflict of the fire worshipping Aryans and the Dasyus, the non-fire worshippers recorded in the Vedas. Such changes in the Aryan religion is quite natural. In view of the fact that the Aryan colonists had necessarily to compromise with the people among whom they settled, the fusion of the Non-Aryan gods with the Aryan resulted in the trinity—Brahmā, Vishṇu and Ś.va. By the time of the Upanishads like the Śvetāśvatara the worship of Rudra-śiva replaced the worship of Vēdic deities. The worship of Skanda or Kārttikēya is again

a case of fusion of the worship of Muruka, the Dravidian god in the Aryan system as seen in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaḍai. In Tolkāppiyam Muruka is described as Cēyōn, the son of Śiva.

In later days we find an interplay of philosophical systems. Śaivism was codified into śāstras and in such codification we do find the influence of Vēdānta, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya etc. cultivated by the Aryans. Sanskrit philosophical terms came to be accepted in a large measure. The pith of Śaiva Siddhānta remained in conformity with Āgamas though it drew its sustenance from the Vedas as well.

Some of the doctrines such as metampsychosis and divine incarnations are either unknown to the Vedas or vaguely hinted. Practices such as adoring gods with flower and incense, now part of Hindu religion, are survivals from the primitive days when the Dravidians were practising them.

All these things show how in every sphere of human life there is give and take and Indian religion is no exception to it. No one loses in dropping superflous things and adopting useful ones. What is true of an individual is true also of a nation. So one need not fight shy of the fact of the Aryan or the Dravidian losing something and gaining something else in the course of their long period of contact in this vast land and accept it as a 'ṛta' or law of Nature.

Viewed in this light, the following statement of Alain Danielou can be appreciated—"Many ancient legends and myths and much historical information that we know today only through Sanskrit versions came originally from non-Sanskrit sources. The great Epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the myths and tales compiled in the vast encyclopaedic works known as the Purāṇas (the Ancient chronicles) probably belonged originally to other languages of India".

Saivites like Śrīkaṇṭha and Umāpati hold the Vēdas and Śaivāgamas in equal estcem. Though the Āgamas too are in

Sanskrit it is possible that they were originally recorded in the indigenous languages of India spoken by the non-Aryans as the contents of these āgamas reflect a school of philosophy not ordinarily met with in the Vēdic literature of the Aryans.

The *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* speaks about 'Bhakti' as a young girl born in the Draviḍa dēśa, nurtured in the salubrious soil on the banks of Kāveri and Tāmraparni, travelled north and became an aged woman as she reached Gujarat. This is only to indicate the contribution of the concept of bhakti by the south to the entire country. Similarly we find the imprint of the culture of the people of Maharāshṭra, Karnāṭaka and Andhra on the Tamiḻs during the reign of the Mahrattas, the Nāyaks, the Çālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas etc. The poems of the Āḻvārs are committed to writing in the scripts of Telugu, Kannaḍa, Hindi, Gujarati and even Beṅgali and sung by the people in those regions. This is further evidence of the impact of the culture of the Tamiḻ speaking people on those speaking languages of Indo-Aryan group besides the people speaking other Dravidian languages.

According to Tārāpāda Bhaṭṭāchārya Vāstuvidyā existed among the Dravidas from an early period. According to him the writings of Maya, Nārada and Śukra might have existed among the Dravidas long before the 6th century B.C. The Bṛhat Samhitā does not accept the opinion of Maya and Nagnajit. Of the two authorities on architecture, Bṛhatsamhitā is taken to represent the Aryan school of architecture and Maya and Nagnajit the non—Aryan schools of architecture. With the advent of the Aryans to the south the Aryan influence was felt as much in art as in philosophy, religion, literature etc. The story of Maya in Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa indicates that his opinion was rejected by the author of the Brāhmaṇa, perhaps because he belonged to the Dravida school. This however shows that there was contact between the Aryan and the Dravidian culture even as early as the Vēdic period. The fact that the Dravida art existed in the Gāndhāra region in the northwest is attested by Fergusson—"Among the sculptures of the Gāndhāra monasteries are several representing façade of buildings. They may be cells or caitya halls but at all

events they are almost exact reproduction of the façade of this Ratha" (i.e. Sahadeva's ratha of Mahābalipuram—Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* Volume I, page 336). This affinity cannot be merely an accidental reference. Father Heras (JBBRAS, 1936) tries to prove that Afghanistan Hadda sculptures as well as Gāndhāra sculptures were the result of revival of Dravidian art of those territories.

The assimilation between the Aryan and the Non-Aryan vāstu vidyā was taking place from the dawn of the Christian era. The story regarding the Vāstupuruṣa being overpowered by the gods, the asuras, dānavas etc. and the vāstu being occupied by all of them may be taken to contain a hint about this assimilation of the different schools of architecture. Though texts like Mānasāra speak about styles of architecture like Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara based on geographical regions still buildings of one or the other type are found all over India. This shows how the different schools of architecture of the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Nagas and the asuras were all assimilated in the course of centuries, giving rise to a more or less composite Indian architecture with the features of one mingling with the other. We have evidence in literature of Viśvakarma and Māya constructing great buildings and palaces in Gāndhāra in north and Laṅka in the far south and of course in between the two also. In Tamiḻ literature we have evidence of architects from the north coming and working in Tamiḻnāḍu under the orders of he Tamiḻ rulers and similarly in other literature, of artists from Tamiḻ going and working in Andhra and other regions up in the north.

The whole history of India bears testimony to the fact of the gradual blending of the dissimilar elements, and evolving a more or less unified system acceptable to the generality of people making allowance for local variations. In this process we find the Aryan genius contributing to the task of systematising things, giving form and shape to the Indian civilisation while the indigenous elements of whom the Dravidians form a conspicuous part, contributed in a large measure to its content.

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THE OLDEST SEA–ROUTES OF THE TAMIL TRADE

BY

JEAN FILLIOZAT

The most ancient maritime relations of India with other countries are those between the Indus civilisation with Mesopotamia through the Persian Gulf. We have also an evidence of sea-trade with the Eastern Africa in the time of the *Atharvaveda.* This text contains an hymn (19.38) in praise of a vegetal perfume, later and still now used in Āyurvedic medicine, the *guggulu*, i.e. the bdellium, resin gum of Balsamodendron mukul Hook. There are two kinds of this *guggulu*, one is *saindhava* "coming from the Sindh", the other is *samudriya* "coming from the Ocean". As the plant is chiefly growing in Sindh and in East Africa, it is clear the product was brought by sea to India.

For the beginning of the Christian Era we get important informations from Plinius's *Historia Naturalis.* According to him one embassy from Taprobane (Śrīlaṅkā) went to Rome in the time of Claudius, emperor from 41 to 54 A.D. It was the time of Bhātikābhaya (38–66 A.D.), a Buddhist king. So the envoys were Singhalese more probably than Tamil. The relations with the Roman Empire were then established for the first time, after the accidental landing in the country of a Roman sailor who incited the king to send the embassy (Plin. VI. 88). Consequently the Taprobanians used their own ships to join the ports of the continent like Muciṟi or Toṇṭi, where came the Roman ships on which they had to embark. But the navigation in Kerala, Tamil country and Śrīlaṅkā was already very active quite independently of the western navy. The same author, Plinius, reports (VI, 87) on ships used between India and Taprobane which had two prows in order not to have to tack in narrow channels but which were convenient to sail on high seas, using birds for discovering the shores. Their tonnage was about 3000 amphoras i.e. about 78

tons. They abstained to sail during hundred days after the summer solstice (because the South-Western moonson on Kerala). This kind of ships is still existing in this Kerala.

We have no information from Plinius about the ships of the Eastern coast of India but we know by other sources, archaeological discoveries and references in Tamil literature, the Yavanas, i.e. merchants of the Roman Empire, went to this coast in the same first century A.D. This was the case at the place called Vīrapatnam or Vīrampatnam in 18th century, and recently named now as Arikamedu, near Pondicherry (cf. J. Filliozat, *Relations extèrieures de l'Inde, I.* Pondicherry, 1956). But we also know Tamil navy has been large enough to disembark an army in Laṅkā in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., under Eḷāra coming from Çōḷa country (Mahav. XXI, 14).

We may also observe Plinius (VI, 69), without indicating his source, mentions one mountain he calls "Maleus mons" which gives shadow during six months toward the North and six months toward the South. Such a mountain must be on the Equator or very near it. Only one so located is in Sumātra not in India. It is 3805 meters high and called in our days Gunuṅ Indrapura or Gunuṅ Keriñci or Koriñci. Gunuṅ means "mountain" in Indonesian language. Indrapura has been a Sultanate located thereby and it is easy to recognize the Tamil word *kuriñci* in *Keriñci* or *Koriñci* which has no original meaning in Indonesian language. (it occurs at least in one language of Sumatra). We do not know the time in which this denomination of *kuṟiñci* has been given to the mountain but *malai* is evidently the Tamil name which has been quoted by Plinius under the form *Maleus*. This designation is also corroborated by Ptolemeus who locates in Chryse, i.e. in South-East Asia, one cape Maleoukolon and actually there is a small cape on the coast of Sumātra very near from the foot of the big mountain which was surely a major guiding-mark for sailors. *Maleou* is the Genitive of *Maleos*, exactly corresponding to Latin *Maleus* and Tamil *malai*. Kolon has not in Greek a suitable meaning for the name of a cape (it means "food" or "great intestine"). So, in *Maleoukolon*, it must be a foreign

word. At first sight it would have been possible to think of an original form *Malāyu kulon* which would signify "Malāyu of the West" in Javanese. There is just east of Maleoukolon one kingdom Malāyu. But this hypothesis is to be renounced because we have neither an evidence of the use of Javanese language in Sumatra at the beginning of Christian era nor a knowledge of the existence of one kingdom Malāyu in this time. It seems more convenient to observe that Tamil *malaikkāl* may designate the "foot of a mountain". If so, maleoukolon may simply be its Greek derivation. In any way *malai* is Tamil and both the informations from Plinius and Ptolemeus derive ultimately from Tamilian visitors of Sumātra (cf. J. Filliozat, *Pline et le Malaya,* Journal Asiatique, 1974).

One objection may be raised against our identification of the Maleus mons with the Sumatranese mountain, because Plinius locates this Maleus in the country of the Suari peoples who, together with the Monedes, are located after the Palibothri, i.e. those of Patna. Solinus (52.13) gives a similar information, simply indicating that the mountain is beyond (ultra) Palibotra. It has been supposed both Plinius and Solinus had Megasthenes as their common source, because Plinius (but Plinius alone) refers to Megasthenes in a subsequent passage. In this case the knowledge in India of the mountain would have been very ancient as Megasthenes visited Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra-Patna) at the end of the 4th century B.C. It is not quite sure the reference to Megasthenes applied specially to the mountain. In any way it refers to Austral heaven and this is enough to prove that the unknown Monedes and Suari were not necessarily to be searched in the vicinity of Bihār. The Maleus mons may well have been located far away towards the South-East and there is no other alternative of identification, as the Equator does not cross India nor Laṅkā. Either Plinius has got his information from Megasthenes or he has put close to a statement of Megasthenes an indication from another source. But Megasthenes is quite a possible source because we know, in spite of the fact that he never visited South India, he has been duly instructed at Palibothra about the Tamil Pandyan kingdom (cf. R. Dessigane, P. Z. Pattabiramin and J. Filliozat,

La lègende des jeux de Civa à Madurai, Pondicherry, 1960, p. XIII). He may have heard also about the equatorial mountain known by the Tamilians if these peoples used already to sail to Sumātra.

Whatever may have been the time of the beginning of their travels toward the South-East, Tamilians have been favoured by the natural conditions. Owing to the relative regularity of the winds in their ocean they were pushed directly toward the Southern half of Sumatra in January and February. The Gunuṅ Indrapura is situated 1° 2/3 South of the Equator, not far from the coast and may have been an excellent guiding-mark with the "cape Indrapura" at its foot. It is in a region where the coast is protected by the Mentawai archipelago and where is the modern port of Padang.

The most convenient season for returning to India seems to have been July-August. In this period, along the coast of Sumatra, the wind is directed to North-West as it is dominant in this direction South of the Equator; but North of the Equator it meets the South-West monsoon and the ships coming from the South may be diverted to the western coast of the Bay of Bengal rather than to India or Laṅka. Nevertheless the South-West monsoon being much attenuated by the South Indian peninsula in the Bay of Bengal, the navigation to India remains quite possible. There is also another alternative. The ships in July–August, starting from southern seas may first govern straight towards the East crossing the Equator to meet the South-western winds West from South India in order to be then pushed by them toward the East and to reach Laṅka or the extreme South of India.

It is often supposed the sailors in the Antiquity were afraid to sail on high seas and were anxious to keep the coast, but this opinion is wrong, at least for the period of the Indian history around the Christian era. The navigation on high seas is not so dangerous than along the coast among the reafs. The coconuts may supply a very convenient means of subsistance on the sea for a long journey. Coconuts contain both drink and food and can be preserved unaltered for numerous months. We have already

referred to the birds discoverers of shores (*tiradassi* already in Pali Buddhist canon, Kevaddhasutta etc......) and side by side with the evidence of the knowledge of Sumatra we find in the Tamil Śaṅgam literature, at least in its later parts, references to this country and the surrounding ones as well as indication on the kind of their trade.

The names of Cāvakam, Cāvakar or Cāvakan occur often (13 times) in *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* and once in *Maturaikkāñci* (see *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne*, 3 vol. Pondichery, 1967-70, adding one omitted reference of Cāvakan to *Maṇi.* 25.2). In these texts *Cāvakam* may designate countries of South-East Asia including Java and Sumatra. The assimilation of both the islands has persisted till the modern times. Marco Polo was still terming Sumatra as Java minor. But *cāvakam*, *cāvakan* and *cāvakar* may designate ascetic practice of several religionists, Buddhist or Jain and these religionists themselves.

In *Maṇimēkalai* (XV. 3) the place where is the māmuṇi Maṇmukaṇ is called *taṇṇeṇ cāvakattavaḷamālvarai* "cool great mountain range of *tavaḷa of Cāvakam*". Here *tavaḷa* (skr. *dhavala*) may have its ordinary meaning of "white" but the mountains of Cāvakam are not white, they never receive snow and even if they are constituted with chalk, the whiteness of the chalk is not apparent on the external surface. As *tavaḷa/dhavala* means also "camphor" this last meaning must be accepted in this verse of *Maṇimēkalai* in which *cāvakattavaḷamālvarai* must be translated "great mountain range of Cāvakam's camphor". Camphora trees are not ordinarily growing in India, but they were in the past growing abundantly on the slopes of the Sumatra mountains. It is well known that camphor was in the past imported from Sumatra (or from China, ciṉikkarppūram). The camphor of Sumatra was extracted from Dryobalanops aromatic Gaernt destroyed in our times (cf. O.-J.-A. Collet, *Terres et peuples de Sumatra*, Amsterdam, 1925, p. 285) but famous among the products of the Arabic trade and exported chiefly from Barus (lately Baros), about 2° North of the Equator on the coast of Sumatra (on names in

various languages cf. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, tome II, p. 661 foll., Paris, 1963). There the camphor trees were growing in the mountain of the same range Barisan which includes the Guṇuṅ Keriñci as its culminant peak few degrees in South.

The ordinary Tamiḻ word for camphor, *karuppūram*, occurs once in *Cilappatikāram* 14.109. It corresponds to Sanskrit *karpūra* but the product being a non-Indian one, its name is most probably borrowed from one country of origin. In Indian languages the word for "camphor" occurs in Pāli (Jātaka etc......) under the form *kappūra* before the occurence of *karpūra* in Sanskrit and Tamiḻ. In Karo batak of Sumatra we have *kapur* which means "chalk" but in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese etc., *kapur* means both "chalk" and "camphor". Often, in order to distinguish the material, camphor is called *kapur barus* in these languages. In Malay written in Arabic characters, *K* is followed by an alif and the transliteration must be *kāpur*, but the quantity of the vowels is indifferent in Malaysian and Indonesian languages. In India, in modern Indo-Aryan, the quantity of vowels varies : Hindī *kāpur*, Marathī *kāpur*, Gujarati *kapūr*.

It seems the ordinary hypothesis of the derivation of all camphor's names from *karpūra* my be questioned. If the original word is Indonesian like the product and borrowed on the Indian side in the ancient period of use of prakrit, before the generalisation of Sanskrit as link language, it would be necessary to consider Sanskrit *karpūra* as a sanskritization of the older Prākrit form of Indonesian origin. The modern Indo-aryan forms may have been directly influenced by the Indonesian word brought repeatedly along the centuries with the camphor itself. On another side the case of *kapur/kapūra* has a parallel in *kapas/karpāsa* "cotton". The etymologists have already admitted an Austro-asiatic origin of Sanskrit *karpāsa*. But in this case, the product is indigenous in India and used in the Antiquity before importations from Indonesia. Nevertheless there are different kinds of "cottons", from Gossypium herbaceum Lin. and Gossypium arboreum Lin., and also confusions between products of Gossypium and of Bombax. In Sanskrit the cotton is also *tūla*, cotton-tree *tūlā*.

Indonesian *kapas* may have been imported in India when India had already its own cotton.

The question of the relation between *kapur* and *karpūra* (or *karuppūram*) and of *kapas* and *karpāsa* (not adopted in Tamiḻ) cannot be settled in the present conditions, but it gives an evidence of the commercial relations between India and South-East Asia.

To return to sea-routes specially used by Tamiḻians in the oldest period we have to recall a significative fact. The oldest inscription discovered in South-East Asia was at Vo-canh on the Eastern coast of the Indo-chinese Peninsula. It emanates from descendants of one king Śrīmāra. It has been first supposed this inscription was Buddhistic but this hypothesis is untenable, Māra being the Devil in Buddhism. Śrīmāra is clearly a Sanskrit transcription of the well-known Pāṇḍyan royal title Māraṉ and the contents of the text, though mutilated, point out only to Brahmanical practices. This is in accordance with the religious situation we know from the Śaṅgam literature to have existed in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The Vo-canh inscription gives an evidence of the installation of Tamiḻians from the Pāṇḍyan kingdom at least in the second or third century A.D. There is no difficulty with the fact that the inscription is in Sanskrit and not in Tamiḻ : since the beginning of Śaka or Christian era classical Sanskrit was the only language of intercourses between various peoples in India and abroad. Without being the mother tongue of any particular region of India it was known everywhere at least by some peoples thanks to the widespreading of its regular teaching. So, Tamilians abroad were using Sanskrit like the various peoples of India and South-East Asia (cf. J. Filliozat, *L'inscription dite de "Vo-canh"*, Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, IV, 1969).

The presence of Tamilians from the Pāṇḍyan kingdom on the Eastern coast of the Indo-chinese Peninsula (modern Vietnam) supposes they have passed the line of Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra and crossed South of the Indochinese Peninsula to turn toward the North and to reach one of the remotest points of

the Indian cultural influence in the Far East in the first centuries A.D. The best way for the Tamilians to sail from the region of the cape at the foot of the Sumatrese Kuriñci was to the Sunda strait between Sumatra and Java. From there they were able to sail straight to Eastern Indochina and this route opened for the future the way to China, where Tamilians were established in the time of Marco Polo at "çaiton" near Canton (Cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 583 foll. There have been found in this place numerous elements of temples and śaiva and vaiṣṇava statues and reliefs in the style of Tamilnāḍu of the 13th–14th century together with a Tamil inscription (documentation published at Peking, 1957, by Wou Wen-lang).

LĀVAṆI, THE MARATHI FOLK MUSICAL FORM

BY

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Of the precious folk musical repertoire that has been transmitted to posterity through oral medium, the Lāvaṇi composition in Marathi language provides interesting study.

Lāvaṇi is a ballad like song, which is said to have had its origin in Maharashtra. Lāvaṇi singing became popular in the Tañjāvūr District during the reign of the Marattas (1684-1855) for over a century. The Maratta kings were themselves musicians and composers, who extended their benevolent patronage not only to foster the growth of classical music and dance, but also promoted the art of singing Lāvaṇi and Lāvaṇi groups. The last Marathi ruler, Śivāji II was a lover of lāvaṇis and had extended his patronage to this style of Marathi folk song. He himself formed the theme of a few lāvaṇis. One Lāvaṇi Venkata Rao was a well known lāvaṇi singer in his court who was also the famous author of the *Bāhattara mela rāgamālika* in *Marāthi* i.e. the 72 meḷa rāgamālika in Marathi language, for which later Mahavaidyanātha Iyer composed the famous Sanskrit sāhitya प्रणतार्थिहर प्रभो पुरारे with the opening section in Śrī rāga. Śivāji Maharaja acted as the final judge when lāvaṇi contests took place in the court between the two sets of lāvaṇi singers.

This folk musical form has been considered as an entertaining method of religious instruction and is in the form of puzzles and answers. In order to familiarise the masses with the knowledge of *Purāṇas* and other Sacred literature, puzzles on such topics are given and answers are also provided. The term Lāvaṇi in Marathi means an 'off shoot'. It refers to the extempore music created on the spot by the singers during the course of the performance. It is also called as *Nilāvaṇi* (நிலாவணி) in Tamiḻ. Lāvaṇis are usually sung during the period between *Vasanta*

pañchami and *Raṅga pañchami* on the occasion of the Hoḷi festival. Lāvaṇi singing is a collective affair and is never performed individually. It is said that as many as six groups of lāvaṇi singers were once very popular in Tañjāvūr. Each group consisting of a certain number of lāvaṇi singers is known as a Geer and the head of the group is named Śāheer and Lāvaṇi singing is the sole monopoly of males. The Chief of each group is a talented musician and poet, who is able to sing extempore and also compose on the spot (*āśu kavitvam*). The theme of the Marathi Lāvaṇi may be either philosophical, historical, devotional or erotic. Sometimes all the nine rasas are also effectively evoked through the characteristic portrayal. Usually high philosophic disquisitions and descriptions of nature form the central theme. The two opposing parties of Lāvaṇi singers with their leader, sit opposite facing each other, enter into a musical debate arguing for and against the problem chosen for the performance, through the medium of songs. Of the different groups, certain groups are dedicated to sing the glories of Lord Śiva while the other groups advocate the greatness of Śri Viṣṇu and when these enter into a musical contest, it used to be a thrilling experience. Further, the followers of each group are vowed to uphold the principles of the '*Geer*' and the lāvaṇis sung and composed by one group are as a rule never handled by the opposite group. The six groups of Lāvaṇi singers, patronised by the Maratha kings were *Tukund Geer*, *Mukund Geer*, *Savāyi*, *Mowja*, *Kalgi* and *Tura*. All these sets of Lāvaṇi singers have become extinct now except the aged surviving exponent in the line of Savāyi singers, Mr. Nagaraja Rao, who is himself the author of few lāvaṇis. He has to his credit a rāgamālika lāvaṇi in honour of Śivaji II who was also a Savāyi,[1] and another in praise of our National Flag. (See Appendix).

With regard to the structure of the Marathi lāvaṇis, these are long pieces with a refrain, *dhruvapada* which corresponds to

1. The term Savāyi is used to denote the relative excellence of a performance. Usually it was given to that party which showed greater talent and skill.

the pallavi and is followed by many charanas. The music of the *dhruvapada*, is repeated as in the ashtapadi hymn, at the end of every stanza and the charanas have the same music. The music of these lāvaṇis is on the whole very catchy, simple and easily enjoyable. And hence these found remarkable appeal among the masses, which again led to the springing up of similar compositions in Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa subsequently. Marāthi lāvaṇis were originally sung in the *Kāphi* tune and with the advancement of musical knowledge, attractive ragas and tunes as well as simple tāḷās came to be used by the singers.

Lāvaṇis sung to the accompaniment of the two instruments, *Tuntina* and *Deph*, which provide the drone and rhythmic background to the performance. The *Deph* is a single-faced drum, with a circular wooden frame having a diameter of nearly 18"×22" and the thickness of the wood is about three fourths of an inch. Thicker the width of the wooden frame, lower is the pitch of the instrument. Jack wood is used for the wooden frame. The skin used for stretching over the wooden frame is that of the buffalo's calf. Goat's skin is also sometimes used but the former is preferred on account of its characteristic tone. The skin is slightly heated before the commencement of the performance, so that it produces a metallic sound, which blends with the drone beautifully. The drum is held by the *Śaheer* who plays it with the right hand, and the second finger of the hand is used to give strokes on the side of the wooden frame, for marking the rhythm. Tuntina is a single stringed drone played with the fore-finger. Consisting of a hollow cylinder of wood or metal covered on the lower side with a parchment, this instrument is provided with a finger board in the shape of a sound stick, fixed on the outer wall of the resonator. The string gives out the śruti throughout the performance.

Maharashtra lāvaṇis have been in vogue since the 15th century onwards. Saint *Samartha Ramadasa*, the preceptor of Śivāji, the Great was the earliest composer of the lāvaṇis. *Tukhārām*, *Eknāth*, *Ānandaphandhi*, *Mādhavamuni* and *Amṛta Rai* have composed lāvaṇis which are even now sung. *Parasurām Easu* com-

posed the *Mahābhāratam* in the lāvaṇi style. The following is a list of lāvaṇis in Marathi on various themes:

1. *Śṛngāra lāvaṇi*—(शृङ्गार लावणि) composed by Honnaji Bal. It deals with the love of Kṛsna and Radha.

2. *Note Lāvaṇi* in English—It is referred to as 'salute tune'.

3. Lāvaṇis describing the children's pranks.

4. *Samvatsara lāvaṇi*:—(संवत्सर लावणि) It gives the names of the years of the Almanac.

5. *Bārākhāḍi lāvaṇi*—(बाराखाडिलावणि):— The alphabets are incorporated in order, in the texture of the sahitya and is of help to remember them.

6. *Pañcabhāshā lāvaṇi*: It deals with the complaint of Gopis about Sri Kṛṣṇa.

7. *Vedanta lāvaṇi.*

8. *Śiva Pārvatī samvāda, Nārada samvāda, Śukha rambhā samvādam*—Conversational lāvaṇis.

9. Lāvaṇis in praise of Ishṭa devatas.

10. Lāvaṇis glorifying the lives of great bhaktās.

11. Pālna lāvaṇi: (पालना लावणि) or Cradle songs.

12. The Rāmāyana lāvani—There are lāvanis dealing with Puranic themes viz. the Bhāgavata lāvaṇi, Dasāvatāra lāvaṇi and so on.

13. Subhadrā kalyāna lāvaṇi:

14. Advaita lāvaṇi.

15. Lāvaṇi with a historical theme—It deals with Śivāji's preparation for the fight with Abdul Khān.

16. Serfoji's Tīrtha Yātra Lāvaṇi—It describes the pilgrimage of King Serfoji II to places of religious importance.

17. Lāvaṇis on patriotic themes, such as salute of the Flag etc. viz. "*Tirangi jhenda pada katha ālā*" in Senjurutti raga.

18. Lāvaṇis in praise of patrons. The Rāgamālika Lāvaṇi in honour of Serfoji II of Tañjāvūr is in Sāvēri, Kānaḍā, Dhanyāśi and Śrī Rāga. These are evidently later compositions with more of a classical mould about them.

19. Mangaḷam in lāvaṇi.

20. *Nowkā lāvaṇi*: The topic of the boyhood pranks of Śrī Kṛṣṇa has always been a favourite theme with composers. The great Rāma bhakta, Śrī Tyāgāraja chose to sing immortalising the '*Nowkā krida*' or *Kṛṣṇa's Pranks in the Boat*' in his opera entitled 'Nowkā Charitra'. This was followed a little later by a Nowkā Charitra in Sanskrit by one *Kavi Veṅkaṭa Sūri.* It is interesting to notice that about this time or some time earlier, a lāvaṇi popularly called *Nowkā*, dealing with the same theme, was composed in Marathi. The author is not known and it is sung in a simple ballad tune. Having a lilting rhythm, it is an attractive piece and when rendered along with the drone Tuntina and Deph, its rural charm is brought out in bold relief. The following is the opening part of this lāvaṇi.

नौका

एक्यादिनी गौळणी मिळूनियां बहु गरी ।
कृष्णा सह खेलति सर्वहिं यमुने तिरी ॥ (ध्रु)

(1) तवें तेथें होती जुनी एक नौउका ॥
त्यामाजी बैसल्या नन्दतनयगोपिका कोणिजला तोडिती-वेलानें बालिका ॥
कोणिगाणिगातिमानुनि बहु कौतुका [छं]
मृदंग वेणू डफ ताल वाजति जमून् ॥
अणि हसुनी खेलती करिति मष्करी जपुन् ॥
तवेंम्हणाति नौका चालवितों अम्ही म्हणून् ॥
असें गर्व गोपींचा श्रीहरि निजमनी बुजुन् ॥
गोपिसिदावितां भल्यात्यां सुन्दरि ॥

कृष्णासह खेलति सर्वहि यमुनेतिरीध्रु

(4) हर्षलाकृष्ण स्तावितांची सर्व गौळणी ॥
गेलमेघहीं वारा खुलला नभींनिनमणी ॥
अवचिता नाव कोटासी लागली झणी ॥
कृष्णासी तळी उतरल्या गोपसाजणी ।
एकमेकां नग्न पाहोनि हांसति हिरखणी ॥
मग वस्त्रे नेसल्या सर्वही होत्याक्षणी ॥ (छं)
यदुपतीसी घेवोनि चालियल्या माहला ॥
म्हणताती देवा आम्हासी आजिरक्षिला ॥
कृष्णासि उतारा काळी यदोदाभला ॥
असें नौक चरित्र अङ्ग भरुनि रचिला ॥
हा सवाई ब्राम्हणकवी भूतलावरी ॥ (ध्रु)

NOWKĀ (Boat song)

Ikya dinī gowḷaṇī miḷuniyām bahuparī|
Kṛṣṇā saha khēlati sarvahi yamunē tirī|| (Dhruva)

1. Tava tēthē hōtī Juni eka nowkā|
Tyāmājī baisalyā nandatanaya gōpikā||
Koṇi jalā toḍitī vēlānēm bālikā|
Koṇigāni gāti mānuni bahukoutukā|| (ch.)
Mṛdang vēṇ ḍaph tāḷ vājati jamun|
Aṇi hasunī khēlati kariti maṣkari japun|
Tavēmhaṇāti nowkā cālavitōm amhī mhaṇun|
Asēm garva gopīmcā Śrī Hari nijamani bujun|
Gōpisidāvitam bhalyātyam sundari||
Kṛṣṇa saha khelati sarva hi yamunē tirī|| (Dhru)

2. Harṣalākṛṣṇa stāvitām cī sarva gowḷaṇi|
Gēlmēghahim vārā khulalā nabhī ninamaṇi|
Avacitā nāvakoṭasī lāgalī jhaṇi|
Kṛṣṇāsi talī utaralyā gopasājaṇī|
Ekamekām nagna pāhoni hāmsati hirakhaṇī|

Maga vastrē nēsalyā sarvahi hōtyākṣaṇī|
Yadupatīsi dhēvoni Cāliyalyā māhalā|
Mhaṇatātī dēvā āmhāsī āji rakṣilā|
Kṛṣṇāsi utāra kāḷi yadodā bhalā|
Asēm *nowka caritra* aṅgabharuni racilā|
Hāsavāyī brāhmaṇa kavi bhūtalāvarī|| (Dhru)

This lāvaṇi is definitely an inspiration from the Telugu opera of Tyagaraja.

Serfoji's Tirtha Yatra lāvaṇi: is a magnum opus. This long piece describes the pilgrimage of Serfoji to Benares touching en route various kshetras. The opening words of this lāvaṇi are given below:—

भूमण्डलि अलि पावनं हे
वाराणासि नगरी - अगात अद्भुत
महिमा हि चे नव नव चतुरी ॥

This is sung in a ballad and free folk tune which is simple and attractive. The last of the three sections contains the name of the king and also refers to the group of lāvaṇi singers viz. Savāyi.

Lāvaṇis having sublime and devotional themes were composed by Tukhāram, Nāmadeva, Rām Joshi and others and are sung in Bhajanas also.

On the model of these Marathi compositions Lāvaṇis in Tamiḻ came to be composed in large numbers. Lāvaṇi singing in Tamiḻ became a very popular form of entertainment in the District of Tañjāvūr and other important areas in Tiruchirappalli and Madurai Districts. Lāvaṇis in Tamiḻ are performed by the villagers during the months of February–March i.e. the Tamiḻ month of Māśi, to announce the advent of spring, and to mark the occasion of *Kāman Pandigai*. The recital consists of two groups of singers and the theme of the lāvaṇis is to argue or hold a discussion as to whether or not, Manmatha was burnt to ashes by Lord Śiva. According to the opposite group, the act of '*Manmatha dahana*' viz. extinguishing of Manmatha, is to be understood in an allegorical sense and that Cupid is never dead and only the *carnal desire* (*Kāma*)

that is burnt and so on. Profuse references and allusions are made during the vehement musical discussions in verse, to puranic and other sacred lore by the respective group of singers. The performance which begins at night and continues throughout till day break, gives immense delight to the rustic audience on account of the spontaneity of expresion and forceful exposition of the interesting theme by the rival groups. To mark the conclusion of the Lāvaṇi performance, a sympolical representation of Manmatha is burnt.

Lāvaṇis form a valuable part of the folk literature of Karnataka also. Ballad singing contests between rival groups known as *Thura* and *Kalgi* are largely in vogue, and lāvaṇis known as *Tattwas* deal with worldly metaphysic and contain rich treasures of gold in them.

Lāvaṇi singing which was once a regular feature in village temple festivals, gradually lost its earlier glory after the extinction of the Maratha rule. As these compositions constitute an attractive part of our folk musical heritage, it is the need of the hour to rescue these from becoming obscure.

APPENDIX

Flag song

तिरंगी झयेंडा फडकता आला जय हिन्द बोला ।
चर्खारूपी सुदर्शन ही पाहिरास्त्र झाला !
छत्रपती श्री शिवरायानें बीजरोविला
झांशी बाईने शर्थ दावूनी पाणीवाहीला
लोकमान्याने देह झिसवोनी अंकुरपुटवीला
दिने दिने स्वातंत्र्य वृक्षते वाढु लागला
त्यावृक्षाचे फले तोडितां लजपतिराय् भला
भगतसिंग सुकदेव राजगुरु यांच नष्ठजाहला ।
सुभाष भाषित सुभांषचन्द्रही तोड्नी शृंखला
चक्र देवुगोर्यांसी भल्तचीदेशोझडी झाला

फण महात्मा अहिंसा बोधूनी विजई जाहला
भारत भूवरी स्वातंत्र्याचा झेंडा उडवीला ॥

APPENDIX

JYENDA (Flag song)

Tirangi jyenḍā phaḍakata ālā *jay hind bōlā*|
Carkā rūpī śudarśana hī pāhirākha jhālā|
Chatrapati Śrī *Sivarāyānem* bījarovilā|
Jhāmśi bāyinē śartha dāvūni pāṇivāhīlā|
Lōkamānyāne deha jhisavōni aṇkurapuṭavīlā|
Dinē dinē svātantrya vṛkśatē vāḍumlāgalā|
Tyāvṛkṣacē phalē tōḍitām *lajapatirāy* bhalā|
Bhagatsingh sukadēva rājaguru yāñuçanaṣṭa cāhalā|
Subhāṣa bhāṣita *subhāṣacandra* hī tōḍnī sṛṇkhala|
Dhakkā dēvūṇgōryāmsī bhalatacī dēśojhaḍi jhālā|
Phaṇa *mahātma ahimsā bōdhūni* vijayī cāhalā|
Bhārata bhūvari svātantrayācā jhēndā uḍavīlā||

REFERENCES TO MYTHOLOGY IN NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA GRANTS

BY

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Nandivaraman II Pallavamalla whose reign extended from 731–96 A.D. is a well-known king. During his reign five copper-plate grants were issued, viz. the Udayēṇḍiram, the Kaśākkuḍi, the Puḷḷur, the Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam copper-plate[1] grants. Of these the Udayendiram grant was composed by Paramēsvara of Medhāvikula,[2] the Kaśākkuḍi grant by Trivikrama[3] and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam by Paramēsvara Uttarakaraṇika.[4]

These inscriptions which are bilingual, show much influences of mythology while giving an account of the Pallava dynasty. In this paper an attempt is made to a study of a few references to mythological figures and allusions connected with them.

Viṣṇu is invoked for the blessings of the Pallava rulers who are referred to as devout worshippers of Viṣṇu.[5] In the Kaśākkuḍi grant the legend of Viṣṇu taking the three strides in the Trivikramāvatāra is mentiond.

> "māyāvinā yena padatrayārthinā sadyaḥ pravṛddhena punar baler makhe|
> vicakrame trijagatassvasātkṛto sa vo'tu bhūtyai bhagavān trivikramaḥ||"

1. Thirty copper-plate grants pp. 107–248. (Prior to 1000 A.D.) ed. by T. N. Subrahmanyan. The Tamiḻ Varalāṟṟu Kazhagam (The Tamil History Academy) 22, Greenways Road, Madras-28.
2. Udayēṇḍiram grant, Verse, 8.
3. Kaśākkuḍi grant, Verse, 31.
4. Taṇḍantōṭṭam grant, Verse, 14.
5. Udayēndiram grant, ll.: 12–13.

Out of the epic heroes given as ancestors of the Pallavas in the *praśasti* verses, Śamyu and Bṛhaspati and the stories connected with them may be considered here.

In the Kaśākkuḍi grant the verse on Śamyu, the son of Bṛhaspati, refers to the former as taking the oblations in the absence of the fire-God.

> "Śaṁyuśśubhamyuranahamyu–rajāya(ta)
> asmadaṁho vighātakṛdaharpatitulyatejāḥ|
> antaṁhite śikhini daivata havyavāho bhūtvā
> vyadhatta śikhikṛtyamapi svavīryān||" (Kas. 13)

This legend about Śamyu occurs in the Mahābhārata, Vana parva.[6]

> "Āhutiṣveva yasyāgner haviṣājyam vidhīyate|
> so agnir bṛhaspateḥ putraḥ śamyurnāma mahāvrataḥ||
> prathamenājyabhāgena pūjyate yo agniradhvare|
> agnistasya bharadvājaḥ prathamaḥ putra ucyate||"

The *Mahābhārata* gives an account of Agni becoming angry and going away to the sea for performing a penance. This is given here briefly.

Aṅgīras also was doing a great penance. He excelled Agni and the latter overcome by the effulgence of Aṅgīras became much emaciated. Agni, the fire-God, became anxious as to how he can get back his prowess. Then seeing Aṅgīras, he approached him. Aṅgīras told him that he should regain his former status as created by Brahmā. In reply Agni said that he had lost his prowess and requested Aṅgīras to be the primeval fire. Thus Aṅgīras attained the status of the fire-God. To him was born Bṛhaspati by the grace of Agni. Bṛhaspati begot Śaṁyu and to him is offered the oblations.[7]

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6. *Mahābhārata*, 111.219.2.

7. See Mahābhārata Vana Parva. chts. 216—18. Here the connection between Agni and Aṅgiras is given in detail. Bṛhaspati is said to have had six sons all partaking of the energy of Fire. Oblations are offered to Ś.ṁyu, at Cāturmāsya and other sacrifices. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. ix 1.24. for Śaṁyu and his connection with sacrifice.

Another reference found in these grants is that of Bharadvāja. He was the first son of Śaṁyu and he too possessed the effulgence of the Fire (God) and was honoured in the sacrifice.[8] In the verse occurring in the Kaśākkuḍi grant he is referred to as having seen the three *Vēdas* as mountains.[9]

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurvēda* gives an account of this episode. Indra grants a fourth lease of life to Bharadvāja and shows him the three *vēdas* as mountains and he says that, what he has picked up is only a handful from each.

Indra adds further that Bharadvāja should continue the study of the *Vēdas* which are immense.[10]

> "Bharadvāja ha tribhirāyurbhir brahmacaryamuvāsa taṁha jīrṇa sthaviram śayānam Indra upavrajya uvāca Bharadvāja yatte caturthamāyur
>
> dadhyām kimanena kuryā iti brahmacaryamevainena careyamiti
>
> hovāca tam ha trīn girirūpānavijñātāniva darśayām cakāra
>
> teṣām haikaikasmān muṣṭimādade sa hovāca bharadvājetyāmantrya vedā vā ete.
>
> anantā vai vedāḥ etad vā etaistribhirāyurbhiranvavocatāh ata ta itaradanuktameva—ehīmām viddhi
>
> iyam vai sarvā vidyeti".

Probably this account is narrated to show the greatness of the *Vēdas* and how only a little can be picked in one's life time.

To this Bharadvāja was born Droṇa through Ghṛtācī.[11]

Agastya putting down Vātāpi is referred to in the description of Narasiṁhavarman as he had also conquered Vātāpi, the capital of the Cālukyas.[12]

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8. Mahābhārata Vana Parva, 218.
9. Kaśākkuḍi grant Verse, 14.
10. *Taitrirīya Brāhmaṇa* III. X 11.3.4. *Anandasrama* 37, p. 135.
11. *Mahābhārata*. Ādiparva, 129. verses 3¹–38.
12. "Agastya iva vimathita vātāpiḥ" Udayēndiram grants I, 14. Cf. Kaśākkuḍi verse 22. "*Vātāpi nirjaya vilambita kumbhajanmā*".

Other well-known personalities of the Epics and the Purāṇas figure in the accounts of the ancestors of the Pallavas. They are Bharata, Nala, Nṛga, Arjuna and Nakula.

Bharata is referred to in the Udayēndiram grant as *Sarvadamana.*[13] The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa speaks of Bharata, Duṣyanta's son, similarly.[14]

Nakula's knowledge of (the science of) horses, Arjuna's skill in archery, as well as Droṇa's mastery of the same are all made use of skilfully to fit into the description of Nandivarman.[15]

Udayana and his fondness for elephants is a well known fact. Nandivarman is spoken of as "*vatsarāja iva kuñjareṣu.*"[16] The Kaśākkuḍi grant goes a step further and says that Nandivarman was like Udayana in the elephant lore and music. "*Vāraṇatantra vādyaviṣaye vatseśvaraḥ*".[17]

Karṇīsuta as a master of all arts and trades figures in Sanskrit story literature.[18] This king Nandivarman is compared to Karṇīsuta and descibed as acquainted with all arts.[19]

From these accounts which find a place in the grants, one can infer how deeply the composers of these *Praśastis* were conversant with the myths found in the Epics and Purāṇas and also the lives of popular heroes described in the Sanskrit story literature.

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13. "*Bharata iva sarvadamanah*" : Udayēndiram grant, 1.19.
14. Abhijñānaśākuntala p. 247 : "Sarvadamana, Śakuntalāvaṇyam paśya", N. S Press edn. Bombay.
15. Udayēndiram grant, ll. 21.25–27.
16. *Ibid* ll. 25–26.
17. Kaśākkuḍi grant, Verse, 29.
18. See Intro. p. X. Avantisundarīkathāsāra ed. by G. Harihara Sastri. K.S.R.I. Mylapore, Madras, 1957.
19. "Saṅgrāme vijayaḥ kalāparicaye karṇīsutaḥ, kārmuke rāmo vāraṇatantra vādyaviṣaye vateseśvaraḥ śrīdharaḥ kāmo| vāmavilocanāsu kavitābaddhe sa ādyaḥ kaviḥ tantrāvāpavidhau svayannayabharo dharmaḥ prajārañjane||"

VAIṢṆAVA TRADITION

BY

THIRU MAHAMAHOPADYAYA AGNIHOTRAM
RAMANUJA TATACHARIAR

Tamiḷ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇavites keep themselves separate from the rest of society by adopting peculiar characteristics such as their mode of dress, decoration (wearing sect-marks at twelve places of their body), use of words with a peculiar vocabulary, movement in separate groups by themselves with mokṣha-oriented and temple-centered religion. Adding the prefix to the name Śri Ubhaya Vēdānta and suffix as 'Dāsa' is a special feature. Their religion is a simple one based on the three secret mantras. Giving a supreme position to their Āçāryas, they have been keeping their tradition for over a thousand years. They live in a cell within Hinduism. Long ago they felt the importance of Tamiḷ language and culture and fused it with the existing vēdic religion, thereby giving a new impetus to the Tamiḷ people, rescuing them from the influence of Jainism, with a view to creating an interest in the masses for the vēdic religion.

Now we talk about bilinguism in Tamiḷ Nāḍu from the political point of view but the Vaiṣṇava Āçāryas had felt the need for the introduction of bilinguism in religion hundreds of years back.

Vaiṣṇavism which takes its origin from the Vēdas has its own tradition and its ideas are symbolised in ritualistic practice. We call it a Vaiṣṇava cult. Religious, philosophical, mystical, ethical and moral ideas assume a definite content and a concrete shape in Vaiṣṇavism. Though Vaiṣṇavism of the post-Vēdic period has spread to different parts of India, it has retained its common features and also developed its special and distinctive ways in worship, dress, habits, etc.

In India, it is said that there exists about seventy three sub-sects of Vaiṣṇavism, each maintaining its own distinctive tradition. The differences in Vaiṣṇavite traditions are based on faiths, doctrines as well as on episodes and anecdotes connected with the founders of each of the sects. In later times regional languages were freely used by the saints of Vaiṣṇavism and they took a particular aspect of Viṣṇu as their source of inspiration. The well-known philosophers also claim Vaiṣṇavahood by worshipping Viṣṇu in their literatures. Some philosophers identified Viṣṇu in their literatures. Some philosophers identified Viṣṇu in either form with absolute and ultimate truth of philosophy. Sankara, the great Advita philosopher, in his theory of "Saguṇōpāsana" worships Viṣṇu also. Vaiṣṇavism was named in different ways, according to the regions and philosophers as Maharastra Vaiṣṇavism, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Assam Vaiṣṇavism, Uttaradi Vaiṣṇavism, Gujarat Vaiṣṇavism, Dwaita Vaiṣṇavism, Advaita Vaiṣṇavism, Chaitanya Vaiṣṇavism, Nimbarka Vaiṣṇavism and so on. Philosophers, of course, do not sow the seeds for any new tradition. They follow the existing tradition in the worship of Viṣṇu but in their writings they give preference to Sanskrit language and follow the tradition of Sanskrit books.

Among the various forms of Vaiṣṇavism, only South Indian Vaiṣṇavism has a unique place because here we find a tradition based on bilingualism in religion while the other sub-sects strictly follow their own traditions. The south Indian Vaiṣṇavism retains both the Tamiḻ and Sanskrit traditions. It is interesting to note that like other Vaiṣṇavite tradition, there is a Pañcharātra Vaiṣṇavism also which created separate tradition as God or Gods of Pañcharātra religion are identified with the Viṣṇu of the Vēdas, it is also taken a Vaiṣṇava religion. Its followers maintain their separateness by following their own tradition. In many ways they are different in their doctrines, philosophy, religion and culture. As South Indian Vaiṣṇavism gives unique place to temple-worship, Āgama-Vaiṣṇavism, which is the basis of temple-worship has become very popular and important.

Among the various forms of Vaiṣṇavism in India, South Indian Vaiṣṇavism can claim originality and antiquity. The striking

feature is its bilingualism in its approach. The great and ancient Tamiḻ linguistic tradition is assimilated. We find here a confluence of Sanskrit and Tamiḻ traditions. Of course, Tamiḻ tradition owes to Sanskrit tradition a great deal in its religious, philosophical, mystical and cultural thoughts. Tamiḻians developed separately many forms or practices in later times which is called Tamiḻ tradition. Āḻvārs in their songs refer clearly to the tradition of Sanskrit and Tamiḻ. Unlike other regional languages Tamiḻ language developed independently assimilating and developing ideas of Sanskrit tradition. Of course, South Indian Vaiṣṇavism is not prepared to include the local tradition of the people but they accept linguistic and literary traditions. Assimilation of regional traditions is common for all post-Vēdic religious thinking of India. Gautama, the author of Dharma Sūtra, says that followers of Vēdic tradition must adopt local traditions also which are not against the Vēdic spirit. Here we want to point out that all dharmas of Smritis also have only a traditional value. They are called "Samayāchārya Dharma", Vaiṣṇavism of South India adopts the post-Vēdic "Samayāchārya Dharma" and newly created the ideal exclusive traditions of the Āçāryas. The Açāryas are said to be the founders of the new tradition. So, in addition to the vēdic tradition, we may take that the new tradition emerged at the time of the Āçāryas. The traditions were strictly followed by the Brahmins but rather loosely by the other castes.

Ubhaya Vēdānta Tradition

While referring to Vaiṣṇavas others add the prefiix Ubhaya Vēdānta (U. Ve.) to their names. This clearly establishes their attachment to bilingualism. The term Ubhaya Vēdānta which consists of both Tamiḻ and Sanskrit traditions is strictly used by Brahmin Vaiṣṇavites. The Vaiṣṇavas of other castes are not termed Ubhaya Vēdāntins because they were not allowed to study the Vēdas.

Sri Vaiṣṇava Tradition of South India most probably starts from Nātamuni. Upto the time of Vēdānta Dēśika and during his period, it was in a formative stage. Afterwards, it was followed by all the Vaiṣṇavas. As had been pointed out, the

unique feature of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism was the amalgamation of the Vēdic, Āgamic and Tamiḻ traditions. The word 'Viṣṇu' is a unique contribution of the Vēdās. So conception of Vaiṣṇavism owes to Vēdās. In addition to this they are termed as Bāgavathas, because name Bhagavān Viṣṇu is preferred in Pañcharātrāgamas. It is a well-known fact that Pañcharātra is described as Bhagavat Sāstra.

Strength of Vaiṣṇava Tradition

South Indian Vaiṣṇavism has always depended for its strength on the support of the masses. It was never initiated by any king or supported by any State. It had no separate institution and had sustained itself only through the adherence of the people. The adoption of idol worship and Tamiḻ language gave it a great strength for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism among the masses. There were no separate Mutts in general for the propagation of 'South Indian Vaiṣṇavism'. The existing institutions, mutts and other "Sampradāyams" are the sectarian aspects within Tamiḻ Vaiṣṇavism.

Ācharya Purusha's Traditions

The grahastas and the sanyasins of different mutts propagate Vaiṣṇavism. Vaiṣṇavism does not depend only on Mutts. Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇavism is not a Mutt-centered institution. Neither Nāthamuni, Āḻāvandār nor Rāmānuja established any mutt for the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism. Even later Āçārayas like Lokachārya, Vēdānta Dēśika did not establish any mutt. According to tradition in the place of mutt, Rāmānuja chose seventy four families as Simhāsanādhipathis to propagate and administer Vaiṣṇavism. They were all Grahastas. 'Āçāryapurushas' families till now propagate and administer Vaiṣṇavism. But in post-Rāmānuja period parallel with Āçāryapurusha institution many mutts were presided over by eminent saints. Their authorities also become an established fact. They are propagating and administering Vaiṣṇavism. They have their own Sishyas (disciples). There are a number of century-old mutts. Prominent among those are Vānamāmalai Mutt, Ahobila Mutt, Thirukuruṅguḍi Mutt, Parakala Mutt, Yedhugiri Mutt, Emberumānār Mutt, etc, Likewise there

are a number of Jiyars who also propagate and administer Vaiṣṇavism. There are Jiyars connected with temple like Srirangam, Tirupathi, etc. We must take that now-a-days Vaiṣṇavism is propagated and administered by Grahastas and Sanyasis. The duties of their institutions are the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism and administering it on proper lines.

Pañcha Samaskāra Tradition

Pañcha samaskāra (The Five Rites) is a mini-Vaiṣṇava Deeksha, prescribed by Pañcharātrāgama. Here taking Mudra (sign) of Shanka (Conch) and Chakra (Wheel), wearing nāmams (sacred marks) on the body including the forehead of both the sexes, getting the suffix 'Dāsa', getting initiated into the three secret mantras (Ashtākshara, Dwaya, and Charama sloka), qualifying oneself to perform Bhagavat Kainkarya are the five points in 'Pañcha Samskāra'. It is purely a Vaiṣṇavite ritual. To be a Vaiṣṇava this ritual is necessary. As in the place of Vēdas they have taken the three secret mantras and this 'manthrōpadēśa' is important. Adding the suffix 'dāsa' to the names of the disciples is based on Rāmānuja's doctrines. According to Rāmānuja all souls depend upon God for their existence, movements, efforts, jīvas, etc. So all jīvas are the slaves of God (Dāsa-būtha). On the basis of such doctrines, adding the suffix 'Dāsa' to the name has come into vogue. Only after getting 'mantrōpadēśa' from the Āçārya, one can meditate on the 'mantra' and its meaning, The whole vēdic conceptions get reduced to the three mantras. For Vaiṣṇavas there is no necessity for any other scriptures or mantras. Further, to get Vaiṣṇavahood, 'Pañchasamskāras' are enough. Administration of such rituals are vested in the Āçārya-purushas or maṭāthipatis. Performance of Pañchasamskāras is common to all Vaiṣṇavas.

Performance of Prabattis—Thengalai and Vaḍagalai perform this. Vaiṣṇavas add another ritual to get Moksha. It is known as Prapatti—Saraṇāgati. Propagation of vaiṣṇavism is merely the general teachings of Vaiṣṇavism but confined to the three mantras with their meanings. As these three mantras are very short ones

all meanings are imposed on the letters, words and sentences. They are kept very secret. Each and every disciple directly approaches the Āçārya to get the mantras and know its meanings. No third person is allowed while he hears the interpretation although he may happen to be a vaiṣṇava. Only four ears come in the picture, two of the Āçārya's and two of the sishya's (Ashatkarna).

The Real Ideal Institution

Āçārya–Sishya Relation: As society consists of individuals direct relation between the individual and Āçārya helps Vaiṣṇavism to penetrate deeply in society. As the Āçārya–Śishya relationship is spiritual, it does not seek any outside help and also it never loses its validity. The strength of Vaiṣṇavism does not depend on either the numerical strength or its meterial aspects. Only on account of this, it still survives. In the sense of an institution, the Āçārya depends for his life upon the sishyas. On the other hand, the sishya depends on the Āçārya for his emancipation. The question of material life does not come here. In the books on Vaiṣṇavism, more than other subjects, the relation between the Āçārya and sishya is elaborately treated. Even God comes in the picture of Vaiṣṇavism as an Āçārya. Like the remembrance of one's Āçārya, the remembrance of the lineage of Āçāryas also held necessary. The lineage goes upto Nārāyaṇa. Thamams (Laudatory verses) recited by the sishya daily starting from his Āçārya, through the lineage of Āçāryas in the ascending lineage upto God Nārāyaṇa.

The Lineage of Āçāryas

The line of Açāryas starts from one's Āçārya and goes upto Nātamuni of this world through the line of Āçāryas. But beyond Nātamuni, the tradition of lineage goes to Sri Vaikuṇṭha, Natamuni was instructed by Nammāḻwar with a special astral body at the time of 'dhyana'. Nammāḻwar was instructed by Viswakhsēna and the latter by Mahālakshmi and Mahālakshmi was instructed by Mahāvishnu. Thus the lineage goes upto Sri Nārāyaṇa.

Vēdic Tradition and Vaiṣṇava Tradition

Tamil Nāḍu Vaiṣṇava tradition started from Nātamuni. Till his time, Vaiṣṇavas maintained both Vaiṣṇava tradition and vēdic tradition. The vēdas and their traditions are eternal ones and we must take note that vēdic traditions are followed by all people. When in the post-Vēdic period the cult of Ishṭadēvata emerged, only then it created some traditions centralised upon Viṣṇu. People followed Viṣṇu-centralised tradition in addition to the vēdic-tradition. When South Indian Vaiṣṇavism emerged at the time of Nātamuni, it began to follow South Indian Vaiṣṇavite tradition, general Vaiṣṇava tradition and the Vēdic tradition. In the case of Brahmins, the three tradition are explicit. They perform Vēdic yāgas.

"They perform sandhyā-vandana following smritis. They follow fasting on Ēkādaśi days and also follow Pañchasamskāra. Only in the case of those other than Brahmins there is some sort of confusion, because they do not strictly follow the vēdic rituals. But they follow Ēkādasi-fasting and Pañchasāmskāra. Till recent times, only the Brahmins were administering Panchasamskāra, but this tradition has also been broken. People began to perform Panchasamskāra as a tantric ritual. This Tantric ritual may be performed by all Hindus, irrespective of castes. As the mantrōpadēśa is a right of all who got this mantra through the upadēśa of their Guru, Mantrōpadēśa has become common for all Vaiṣṇavas, irrespective of castes. Further rituals based on vēdic tradition need vēda mantras only. Tantra mantras and tantra rituals are common for all castes. So leaving aside vēdic aspect, all people can follow tantra way of Panchasamskāra. Any how in the case of people who follow vēdic tradition, Vaiṣṇava tradition has become an additional one. It must be remembered that Pañcharātrāgama creates a new tradition among Vaiṣṇavas apart from vēdic tradition. Sometimes Pañcharātra tradition stands against the vēdic spirit. Vēdic tradition also stands against the Pañcharātra tradition. But in the case of Vaiṣṇava Brahmins both get adjusted. In the case of those other than Brahmins this is not the case. They follow their local tradition and the traditions

of Vaiṣṇava sampradāya. Sometimes local tradition is based on scriptures or sampradāyas. Anyhow, as the Vaiṣṇava tradition came late in history, it had to adjust itself with the existing tradition.

Genesis of Vaiṣṇva Tradition

A student of history of Vaiṣṇava tradition thinks that it had come into Hinduism only in the 10th century A.D. when people who wanted to follow Vaiṣṇavism automatically adjusted themselves to that tradition. Pañcharātrāgama tradition which is co-existing with Vēdic tradition only got merged within 11th century A.D. Till that time persons who followed Pañcharātrāgama strictly followed only Pañcharātra tradition. They never followed vēdic tradition. Their tradition merged with temple worship and they followed the āgama tradition in their houses and temples. They are called Shuddayajis. After a short time, they disappeared from the horizon. We do not know the reason for this. Later on, ordinary Vaiṣṇavas adopted Pañcharātra Vaiṣṇavism. They followed Pañcharātra Vaiṣṇavism in the houses as well as in the temples. But temple worship is now done only by misryajis who follow vēdic tradition in the houses. It is interesting to note that Tamiḻ language is not directly connected with any separate culture. But an old king of Pāṇḍya Dēśa claimed that they were Parama Vaiṣṇavas (Parama Vaiṣṇavas, Thengalairs). Likewise there is an episode in Tirumaṅgai Mannan Pāsuram how God appeared personally before Toṇḍaimān and taught him the mantras. From this we understand there was a tradition of Vaiṣṇavism even before the Āçāryas and Sri Rāmānuja in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. This may be called Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Āḻvārs. In their philosophical and religious approach, they follow only vēdic tradition. But they introduced new cult of worship based on personal aspect of God. The well-known 'Pūja' is a personal approach to God. The 16 parts of pūja are only to approach God in a humanistic way. They offer flowers and show burning camphor and bathe God and decorate God with sandal wood paste and pushpa. This peculiar sort of worship, otherwise called shodasōpachāra pūja, is attributed to Pre-Āçāryas of Vaiṣṇa-

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vism. Kings installed idols for public worship in the temples and worshipped them. As Pañcharātrāgama adopts this cult only in later times may be taken as a tradition of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. All Āḻvārs refer to a popular form of worship where only offering of flowers, finds an important place.

Rāmānuja and Vaiṣṇava Tradition

There is an inconsistency between the works of Āçāryas and the biographies of Āçāryas. The biographers of Āçāryas who came long after Sri Rāmānuja's time attribute many important things to Rāmānuja, Āḷāvandār and Nāthamuni. According to them Rāmānuja introduced a casteless Vaiṣṇavism. He inherited such Vaiṣṇavism from his predecessor Āḷāvandār. According to them, Nātamuni brought to light Āḻvārs' songs and Āḷāvandār and Rāmānuja propagated Āḻvārs' songs in many ways, but this idea does not find good support in the works of Rāmānuja, Āḷāvandār or Nātamuni. Āḷāvandār praises Nammāḻvār only. Rāmānuja never refers to Āḻvārs or their songs. Only from Nāmpiḷḷai, we find a direct reference to Āḻvārs and their songs. They made commentaries also.

Tenkalai—Vaḍakalai

Nowadays Vaiṣṇavite tradition of Tamiḻnāḍu is divided as Tenkalai and Vaḍakalai Vaiṣṇavism. Of course, both are Vaiṣṇavas. Both are the followers of Rāmānuja. Both respect the Āḻvārs. Both consider Āḻvārs' songs as sacred. But in the interpretation of doctrines, there is a difference between Tenkalai and Vaḍakalai Vaiṣṇavites. Both claim Sri Rāmānuja in their support. Difference in doctrines are also enumerated as 18. Differences in interpretations started only in post-Rāmānuja period. The differences arose about the performance of Prapathis while the other insisted on its performance. Differences arose also in the interpretation of texts. It explicitly comes out in the works of Lōkācharya and his brother Alagia Maṇavāḷa Nāyanār on one side and Vēdānta Dēśika Perumāḷ on the other side. Anyhow the words Tenkalai—Vaḍakalai never occur in the sense of different sects in any of Vaiṣṇava scriptures—the authoritative ones. The difference comes out openly only

in the marking of nāmam by each sect. One who follows sign of God's mark 2 feet with a projection with a peeṭam at the base is called Tenkalai. Others, is a sign of 1 foot which has a space in the middle. It has nothing to do with both the signs of any school directly.

Sect Mark

The sect mark of Vaiṣṇavism comes very late in Vaiṣṇava sampradāya. According to historians it is only a creation of post-Maṇavāḷa Māmuni period. This mark has nothing to do with Tenkalai or Vaḍakalai Vaiṣṇavism. There is no doctrine demonstrating the different marks of the nāmam. Thenkalai—Vaḍakalai tradition has nothing to do in the case of temples because temples are governed by Āgamas, which are neither Tenkalai nor Vaḍakalai. Difference in Tenkalai—Vaḍakalai exists only in the case of temple-going vaiṣṇavas. It has nothing to do with the temple itself. Later, Āçārya Vēdānta Dēśika says in his time that he found in the face of Icons a flame-like mark only. So putting Nāmas on the forehead of God has definitely come in later times only. So exclusive or inclusive claims of Tenkalai—Vaḍakalai is foreign to the main character of the temple.

An Historical Study of Vaiṣṇava Tradition

A deep study of books of Āçāryas reveal that Vaiśṇava tradition gradually gained ground only during the time of the Āçāryas. Upto the time of Rāmānuja and Baṭṭar, all books were written only in Sanskrit. Afterwards Āçāryas wrote in Tamiḻ also. They used Maṇipravāḷa language in their works. An intensive study of Sanskrit books reveals that Nātamuni introduced in his philosophy Viṣṇu as the Supreme God, Tavtatreya (Chitachith Eśvara) as a main principle. In other ways he followed Vēdic tradition. Āḷavandār, a grand-son of Nātamuni wrote a book in defence of the Pañcharātrāgama tradition. Of course he never says clearly that he followed Pañcharātrāgama. He says simply that like other systems of Religious Schools, Pañcharātrāgama also can be recognised. Rāmānuja follows the same line. Rāmānuja has never written anything in appreciation of Āḻvār's works or never wrote any commentary on Āḻvār's songs. He maintained

vēdic tradition and accepted the caste system in toto. According to his works we can safely say he strictly followed the vēdic tradition only. It was only after his time, the fusion of the vēdic Tamiḻ and Āgama traditions became an established fact. This was supported by the books of the post–Rāmānuja period. Brahma Sūtra became unimportant and vēdic tradition also became unpopular. The pre-dominance of Tamiḻ language over Sanskrit was accepted. In the place of Vēdas 3 secret mantras became the main authority. This sort of tradition found a place only in the books of the later Āçāryas. But Guruparampara which is a scripture giving the biography of the Āḻvārs and Āçāryas, attributes all ideas of late Vaiṣṇavism to Rāmānuja also. But biographers came only after 200 years. So it is very difficult to accept their stories in toto. Rāmānuja's books which are in Sanskrit are open to all. They stand firmly against Guruparampara stories. Anyhow ater Āçāryas' books and Guruparampara scriptures stand as the source of Vaiṣṇava tradition. Also there is a tradition of giving meanings to the Āḻvārs' songs. Āḻvārs' songs of course, are only in the Tamiḻ language. But Āçāryas interpret Tamiḻ songs in Sanskrit terms. Here too we find a difference in tradition, 6000, 9000, 12000 follow one tradition, 24000, 36000 follow another tradition. There is a tendency among Āçāryas to give only esoteric meaning for Aḻvār's Tamiḻ songs. Likewise there is a Rahasya tradition which is based on meaning of 3 Rahasya mantras. Here also we find 2 and more traditions in the interpretation of 3 secret mantras. Vēdānta Tradition which started from Rāmānuja is kept intact. The main aim of post–Rāmānuja tradition is an attempt to create a casteless-Vaiṣṇava society–a religion, without the help of vēdas and smritis. Tamiḻ unconnected with Sanskrit, and a replacement of sanskrit vēdas by Tamiḻ ones, came out, Rāmānuja's philosophical principle is accepted as a basic one. In many respects it is a peculiar religion.

Importance of Idol–Worship

God is worshipped in different names and in different forms. Within the Vaiṣṇava fold God also took Avatāras to rescue man. Of all incarnations, the incarnation of God in the idols is the last

one. According to Vaiṣṇava traditions incarnation means God's coming nearer and nearer from heavenly abode, towards human beings. (Para Vyooha-Vibuva-Harda-Archa). In archa only God incarnates himself in the shape of an icon. It is easily accessible. It demonstrates the simplicity of God. Only in archa, one can fulfil his ambition of God-experience. In temples icons are installed for worship by the public. So temples have become places of public worship. Still, for individual welfare, people are asked to install in their own houses idols and worship them by offering pūja. So it has become necessary for each and every Vaiṣṇava to have an idol for his own worship. But as a matter of fact, installing idols in each and every house, in course of time, was discouraged and temples came to be encouraged as places of public worship. Of all temples, those which are praised by the Āḻvārs take superior positions. Likewise doing service to Archāvathārā is taken as the main aim of life. Rāmānuja's doctrine of relation between God and soul paved the way for the doctrine of Kainkarya. God is the Lord, the souls are the servants. So the duty of servants is to serve God. As God is in the icons of temple, by doing services to the Lord of temple, one can maintain this Kainkarya. Archāvathārā (appearance of God in icons) is easily accessible to the human beings. By doing service to such Gods one can get divine bliss here itself.

Ascetic approach: According to Vaiṣṇavism the soul exists only for the enjoyment of God. For the soul there can be no enjoyment other than that of God. So automatically Vaiṣṇavism became a God-centralised religion. It negates worldly engagement. They claim only Nārāyaṇ as the God. The followers of Vaiṣṇavism are called Paramaikanthins. They claim only Nārāyaṇa, as the supreme God. Except mōksha they like no other thing. They are indifferent towards ordinary life. They always want to meditate upon God by experiencing God's forms, qualities and other ideals. They are also interested only in experiencing them by reading books or hearing Kalākshēpams. This is purely an individual affair.

No Bajanas: In North India congregational bajanas play an important role. Very often people assemble, make bajanas with the help of musical instruments or with Nāmasaṅkīrtanās. In South India, Vaiṣṇava tradition never maintain bajana or Nāmasaṅkīrtanā. Names and forms of God are intended for the experience of the individual and not for congregational worship. As the name of God is secret and has secret meanings, they didn't utter God's name loudly in public.

Importance of Bāgavathas: To a Vaiṣṇava another Vaiṣṇava is a Bāgavatha because he is the favourite of Bhagavān. Bāgavatha's supremacy stands even above God's because being a model for others Bāgavatha corrects others. So being a servant of Bāgavathas is preferable to being a servant of God. Bāgavathas are said to have a right even to salute other Bāgavathas. On the basis of this a Vaiṣṇava prostrates before another Vaiṣṇava as soon as he meets him.

Rāmānuja Dāsan: When one Vaiṣṇava meets another he says immediately 'Adiyēn Rāmānuja Dāsan' (I am a servant of Rāmānuja). It is a mantra for him. Because knowing of one's relationship with Rāmānuja, pleases the other. There is a tradition also. Rāmānuja made prapathi on behalf of all Vaiṣṇavas. All Rāmānuja Vaiṣṇavas are all included in Rāmānuja's prapathi. By uttering Rāmānuja's name they express their gratitude to Rāmānuja.

Āḻvār Tiruvaḍigalē Saraṇam: Like God's feet, the feet of Āḻvārs themselves remind us of the Moksha. Nammāḻvār in his songs in praise of Tirupathi surrenders to the God of Tirupati. Commentators say that in Āḻvār's surrender we are all included. So in mentioning Āḻvār's name one shows one's gratitude to Āḻvār.

Śri Pādha Tīrtham: Washing the feet of Āçāryas and a spoonful of drinking hallowed water is considered a great virtue by the Vaiṣṇavas. By taking this teertha, he purifies himself both externally and internally. As the feet of God is the source of all punya Tirthas, Āçārya's feet are also taken as source of all punya tirthas. Because, he finds God there. Taking water after washing Āçārya's feet demonstrates humility. So taking Śrī

pāda teertham is an important virtue and hence imperative to the vaiṣṇavas.

Gōshṭi: In Vēdic period Vēda mantras were used in rituals. No separate prayer was allowed in any form at any time. When the vēdic rituals disappeared prayers became separated from the rituals. Instead of individual prayer, people assemble in a particular place and recite vēdas in a chorus. When the Tamiḻ songs got equal importance with vēdas, they were also adopted in their gōshṭi songs. Vaiṣṇavas give importance to the gōshṭi reciting in congregation vēdas and Tamiḻ songs). This is considered an important ritual. In private houses and temples they give importance to gōshṭi gānam. Here they recite vēdas and read other Sanskrit books. Likewise, they recite Āḻvār's songs and read the works of Āçāryas. Vēdas and Sanskrit books take the first place and Āḻvārs' songs snd Tamiḻ books take the next place. Anyhow Gōshṭi is a peculiar ritual which is strictly followed by Vaiṣṇavas on all important occasions. But in houses and temples they give preferential place for Tamiḻ and Tamiḻ songs. However, in the temple procession Tamiḻ singers go first before the deity. Vēdic reciters go behind the deity. (In the place of vēdic rituals they founded a new theory of gōshṭi).

Daily life and Tamiḻ songs: It is obligatory on all Vaiṣṇavas to have the idols in their houscs and perform Ārādhana to them daily. The Vaḍagalai sect of people perform the poojas strictly using the Sanskrit language. On the other hand the great Maṇavālamāmuni, the leader of Tengalai Sect prescribed daily pūjas using also the Tamiḻ language. Recitation of Nityasandānam at the time of pūja is necessary, Nityanusandānam is a selection of songs of all Āḻvārs. It is recited daily in the houses and in the temples. Of course Pañcharātrāgama tradition never allowed the arçakas to recite any song in Tamiḻ or Sanskrit unconnected with pūja but Vaiṣṇavas sit in the gōshṭi recite selected Tamiḻ songs daily on their own accord in temples.

Recitation of Tamiḻ songs at other times

Whenever occasion arises Āḻvār's Tamiḻ songs are recited along with Vēdas and other scriptures of Āçāryas in other

languages. This is called gōshṭi pārāyaṇa. The beginning of these scriptures is called 'Toḍakkam' and the end is called 'Sāthumuṛai'. It is a separate ritual. On birthday celebrations of the Āḻvārs and Āçāryas this process is adopted. In the temples they recite both Vēdas and Tamiḻ songs in parallel.

Tamiḻ songs during Weddings

Of course Āḻvārs' songs are not intended for any ritual. So in practice in marriage rituals, Āḻvārs' songs never find a place. People follow their own tradition on the occasion of marriage. But Vaiṣṇava Brahmins on the fourth day of the marriage celebrate the festival called Pacchai. Here the bride and bridegroom sit on a mat and play with cocoanuts. At that time Vaiṣṇavas assemble there, recite Āṇḍāḷ's songs, where she records her dream about her marriage with God.

Obsequies: In obsequial ceremony both the Brahmins and others follow their time-honoured tradition. In addition to vēdic recitations, they recite Āḻvār's songs—some people on all the ten days while others only after 10 days or 3 days. On the last day they go out in a procession reciting Tamiḻ songs and holding sugarcane plant in their hands. The Kartā (performer) wearing turban and flowers carries poorṇa kumbam (a pot with water).

A Peculiar custom: Non-brahmin sishyas get Mudradharana (the branding of the upper arms with the heated Mudras of Shanka and Chakra) but at the death of the sishya, the Āçāryas appear and follow a ritual by reciting of Tamiḻ songs of Āḻvārs to bring down the Mudra-mark as if to prevent them from getting polluted by the fire. But this is not observed in the case of Brahmins.

Groupism of Vaiṣṇavism: Vaiṣṇavas form a gōshṭi separating themselves from other Brahmins. The groups of Vaiṣṇavas are called God-lovers. They do not allow others to enter their gōshṭi. Bāgavathas love each other and honour others. One refers to other Bāgavatha in reverential terms. While one replies to another Bāgavatha one must reply in humble terms. One calls the other

'Dēvarīr' thus glorifying the other as a dēva. But in reply the other says 'Aḍiyēn'. Most probably they use the language of inscriptions which are peculiar to Vaiṣṇavism. Thus demonstration of mutual humility is the basic principle of congregation.

Casteless Society: 'Āçārya Hrudayam' and other works talk about the casteless system. They vehemently oppose the caste system. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Āḻvār is most vehement in condemning caste system. But Nāmmāḻvār and others on the other hand, praise Brahminism. But when Bakthi mārga came to the forefront the caste system had already disappeared. Bakthi mārga never knows caste system. The caste Brahmin, without Bakthi, is condemned, while a person of lower caste with Bakthi is praised. Likewise, the doctrine of prapatti stands above caste system. There are many stories in Guruparampara to show that Vaiṣṇavism stands against caste system. According the Guruparampara, Rāmānuja took the hand of Piḷḷai Uranga Villidāsar a person who belonged to the fourth caste as an Āçārya. "Āçārya Hrudaya" which is a Bible of Tamiḻnāḍu Vaiṣṇavism, openly condemns the existence of caste system among Vaiṣṇavas. Pañcharātrāgama which has different schools of philosophy, ethics and culture openly declares that all castes are allowed to perform Viṣṇu Pūja after taking Dīksha of Pañcharātrāgama.

Āçāryas have made great attempts to create a casteless society in the South. But all their ideas are only in books. They were not practised in actual life. If they had been practised, Vaiṣṇavism would have stood in the forefront as a model for the reformation of Hinduism. What is happening is the Brahmin Sri Vaiṣṇavas never mingle with a non-brahmin Sri Vaiṣṇavas and do not admit them in their goshṭi. Of course non-brahmins also got Pañchasamskāra including mantrōpadēśa. They are also eligible to get the 3 secret mantras from the Āçārya. They also study Tamiḻ songs. They are also fit to recite Tamiḻ songs. They are also strictly worshipping God Viṣṇu and having faith in Āçārya's sayings. Yet they are not allowed to recite even Āḻvārs' songs along with Brahmin Vaiṣṇavas either in the temple or in the houses. Only the Brahmins keep the right of recitation.

Vaiṣṇava tradition and the temple: The temple is installed with the help of āgamas either pañcharātra or vaikānasa. They have nothing to do with Vaiṣṇavism of Tenkalai or Vaḍakalai. As Vaiṣṇava tradition in many ways has been a temple-centred one, even for private vaiṣṇava rituals they depend upon temples only. Madhwas are also Vaiṣṇavas. But they perform vaiṣṇava festivals in their houses. Daily Pūjas are performed in individual houses. (In case of) Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇavas (they) depend on temples for all festivals of Viṣṇu. So Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇavism has become completely temple-centered.

Bajana Maṭams

In later Çōḻās' time separate institutions were started for the propagation of Saiva Siddānthas. Likewise after Rāmānuja, the Rāmānuja Kooṭams took its birth as a different institution from the temple. From the archaeological evidence we understand Rāmānuja Vaiṣṇavas were fed there. Responsibility of maintaining such institutions was also given for some persons. Rāmānuja kooṭams are intended for all Vaiṣṇavas. In many places there is a reference to Sathada Sri Vaiṣṇavaites who are invariably non-Brahmin Vaiṣṇavas. So we can say the Rāmānuja kooṭam is intended for feeding of non-brahmin vaiṣṇavas only. In course of time they also disappeared. Non-Brahmin vaiṣṇavas started Bajana Maṭams for their congregation. This institution survives even today in many places, where non-brahmin vaiṣṇavas install icon of Viṣṇu or portraits of Viṣṇu. Non-Brahmin vaiṣṇavas perform daily pūja there with the help of Tamiḻ songs. On certain occasions they follow Bajana forms of worship. Of course, Bajana is not followed by Brahmin vaiṣṇavas in any place. Non-Brahmins are following Bajana paththati there. They follow sometimes Panḍaripuram Bajana pathadi. Anyhow, like temples, there are bajana also for vaiṣṇavism.

Worship of Pāthuka: To show their humility, vaiṣṇavas gave importance to the feet of God and Āçārya. They meditate upon the feet of God Āçārya for their satisfaction. But later on, this humility extended to Pāthukas of God and Āçārya. Pañcharātrāgama while giving humanistic touch to God, worship Pāthuka.

They provide pāthuka also to the God. In each and every temple there is a pāthuka. Vēdāntha Dēśika glorifying Ranganātha Pāthuka sings 1000 verses in Sanskrit. He said, the pāthuka of Viṣṇu is nothing other than Nāmmāḻvār. The identification is purely idalistic and also incidental. From that time all pāthukas of Viṣṇu at all temples, called 'Saṭāri' or 'Saṭagōpan'. The pāthuka of God is not fitted with the feet of Bhāgavan and exists separately in Vaiṣṇava temple. All pāthukas are stationed in a raised vessel and made suitable to cover the heads of the worshippers. As it is a separate one, at the time of worship, the saṭāri is taken and placed on the head of all people as a symbol that God places his feet upon the heads of all human beings. It means if you put pāthuka on the head always God's feet are there and God also is there. In the case of Āçārya as the Āçārya is living in a particular place away from the sishya, to symbolise the remembrance of Āçārya's thiruvaḍi, they have a pāthuka made of Wood, Vaiṣṇavas keep in their house Āçārya's pāthukas and worship them. On occasions, they wash the pāthuka and use the water for their purity. It is not out of place to remind our readers the practice followed in Advaita Mutts. They keep pāthuka of Sankara and worship them. This act is called pāda-pūja. To remember Āçārya's feet daily at the time of Mantra japa, they place on their head a piece of cloth, which is marked by colour with the feet of Āçārya.

Prabandha Recitation Tradition: When Recitation of Āḻvārs' songs was brought about by Nātamuni, he made tunes, thāḷams, for the songs. The Araiyars who sing Tamiḻ songs in temple recite them with Abhinaya and songs. According to the tradition, they were in existance for the past 1000 years, in Srirangam, Srivilliputtur and Āḻvārthirunagari where Araiyarsewai, is still in vogue. In Srirangam except Araiyarsewai before Deity, there is no congregation recitations of Divyaprabandhas but in other temples and in private houses, Tamiḻ songs are sung without any musical note of tunes simply to help hearers the method that is adopted. By simple hearing they can easily get an enjoyment of meaning. Why the musical notes and when it was given up is not known.

On the other hand, songs of Śaivite saints are recited with musical tunes.

Though vaiṣṇavism of Tamiḻ Nāḍu became temple centred, temples do not depend upon Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇavism. All temples now-a-days follow Pañcharātrāgama. That is only their basic character. Hence we do not attribute Tamiḻ Nāḍu Vaiṣṇava character to any temple. Idol-worship is the production of the thinking of human society in general. According to anthropologists, it became the 6th stage of religious thinking of man. It is an universal practice and has a long history. Even before Pañcharātrāgama temples were in existence for people to worship God in idols. Prophet Mohammed condemns worship of idols. Christianity also stands against making idols to the Gods. But Hinduism allowed idol-worship and encouraged the worship. But idol-worship entered Hinduism when the old vēdic Upaniṣadic form of rituals failed to impress the masses. When idol-worship became popular it was also absorbed in Hinduism Āgama stepped in here and prescribed the rituals. Idol-worship is not the production of Pañcharātrāgama; they stepped into the temples only in the later stage of their history also. Āgamas openly declare that they prescribe idol-worship as a means to Moksha and material prosperity, only to those who are not able to follow gnāna mārga or yōga mārga. There is a popular saying in Sanskrit—Idol-worship is intended only for enlightened masses (Prathimasu Aprabuddhanam). So idol-worship is intended for the masses only. It has its own way as is prescribed in Āgamas. It has nothing to do either with vēdas or Āḻvār's songs. Āḻvārs praise the idols like other people. They never established any temple. After the entrance of Pañcharātrāgama the daily pūja and utsavas were codified by it. Naturally vaiṣṇavism which is the product of Āçāryas has nothing to do with the temple. Āçārya activities are limited to books only especially traditions based on 'Āḻvār' songs and have also nothing to do with the temple. But when the vaiṣṇavas began to pray God, either with the help of Vēdas and Āḻvār songs on their own accord they were allowed to recite their songs. But such recitations are not officially connected with

the daily pūja. The archakas never ask the reciters to recite something. So Vaiṣṇava tradition has nothing to do with temples or temple-worship. They go to temples, sit there, praise God for their own benefit and are honoured. When Vaiṣṇavas go and sit there they follow their tradition. They have no special relation with temple. In this respect they are only sēvārthees. They are equated with the rest of the people. The connection between the Vaiṣṇavism and temples starts only with emperors of Vijayanagar who were themselves Vaiṣṇavas. They allowed and encouraged the installations of Āçāryas in temple and celebrated their birthday. But it is not in any way connected with the main worship of the temple.

ART AND LIFE -A HUMANISTIC VIEWPOINT

BY

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The advent of Humanistic psychology fulfills the long cherished hope of mankind for a greater psychology—that is the psychology of Human experience. Especially at a time when there has been a growing feeling that Modern Psychology has become rather dry with much of human experience left out of its fold, it is indeed the need of the hour for a human oriented Psychology that is not divorced from life but that which considers life as a meaningful conscious existence. Among the many facets of experience, that are of significance in our daily life, Art is a wholesome living experience and a total self-expression that lend meaning to life. It is but natural that Art is a field of utmost concern to Humanistic Psychology.

To define the concept of Art is somewhat a difficult task. A precise technical definition of art leaves a sense of incompleteness behind. In an empirical approach to Art, the experimental operation may be successful but the fragrance of art as a total quality is entirely lost. Perhaps the best way to understand Art is to experience it—see it, know it, feel it, and be one with it, either as an artist oneself or as a spectator.

Generally speaking Art has been described as imitation, as representation of reality, as escapism, as intuition, as expression of need and emotions, as communication, as adjustment and art as beauty. They tend to imply in one way or the other, the cognitive, affective and aesthetic functions of art. In its aim, means and ends, Art has been closely associated with life and its conditions. Conscious living is a rich and true experience, the aim of which is to exceed oneself. Life in spite of its apparent limitation, offers limitless possibilities to actualise oneself or unfold one's potentialities. The supremacy of artistic activity lies

in aiding or fulfilling this supreme purpose of life. Art as a product of one's lived experience, a live experience and a living guide for the future, has a transforming and transcending influence on human nature. While Art influences Life, the nature and extent of such influence depend upon the levels of Artistic creation and appreciation—sensual, intellectual, emotional, aesthetic and spiritual. The purpose of true art is something much more than that of mere entertainment. True art is not born out of mere infatuation but a greater inner truth which manifest itself externally through an eternal beauty of form, beauty of content and beauty of expression. Thus in any true work of art, Psychology, Aesthetics, ethics and religion get beautifully interwoven. The religious perceptions of a society offer the highest meaning of life to the people and the artist expresses them in a realistic and accurate manner. Art with such a lofty ideal can stand the test of time and space without losing its perennial appeal. History of every nation is replete with instances of such standing monumental creations of art which bear ample testimony to the existence of true art amongst us. In the Indian history of art and its development, Art had retained its sanctity throughout since its expression sprung forth from the sanctum sanctorum of the being.

With such an ethical and spiritual content, art exercises a moral and social control over thinking and living. The question arises whether artist is himself a moral man. Whatever be the moral content of the work, the behavioural morality of the artist depends on the extent to which his personality is integrated around the basic ethical code he has expressed through the art. Even in the absence of such a true relation between the content and action, the intensity of feeling experienced and reflected by the work of art has its own indelible influence on the life of others.

It is a truism to state that art as a supreme human activity offers great delight to the artist and the spectator, sick and the sane, poor and the rich, young and the old. The self actualising experience of a person on seeing the simple charms and ravishing beauties of Nature is something beyond expression. True art has such pleasing properties of symmetrical form, supreme content and

beautiful expression that mere perception of works of art whether it is architecture, sculpture, poetry or Music offers instantaneous peace and bliss. The ecstasy resulting from such a configuration of aesthetic, emotional and spiritual experience is something unique to artistic experience alone and quite different from the pleasure offered by such works of arts which appeal only to the senses or to the intellect or to the emotion.

True art is a spontaneous outlet of one's feelings and not necessarily an intentional portrayal of specific emotion. But it is predominently the emotion experienced by the artist that lends colour to the organisation of form and the material content. Mere artistic creation of form and content devoid of emotional expression will not have a direct and forceful appeal in the long run. The intensity of emotional tone depends on the extent to which the artist experiences the same. In art there is no explosion of emotion but only an expression—sublime and aesthetic since the artist is by nature artistic. But it is not the case always, for example, there are certain types of music which do not invoke god but provoke men leading to a violent outburst of emotion, finally leaving a mark of destruction rather than elation. Again it is the right kind of emotions that help to preserve the standard of art. The quality of emotional expression in turn reflect upon the levels of consciousness at which they originate, whether material or psychic—and the human needs they seek to fulfill. Among the various needs, the need to actualise oneself is the driving force of any true art.

Just as Art is a great expression, artistic appreciation is a great experience. The excellence of a work of art depends on the extent to which the artist rises in consciousness at least during the creation of art. Likewise the work reflects the feelings of the artist to the extent the spectator rises in consciousness. Opening oneself to such higher consciousness helps to actualise or exceed oneself in the long run. The fulfillment of growth needs in life is as important as the satisfaction of deficiency needs. Thus art as an expression and experience has a cathartic value and hence a necessity for man and his mental health.

It is the contention of psycho-analysis that art is a sort of wish fulfillment, a compromise and a solution to some deep-seated content in the unconscious. If artistic action is regarded as a process of adaptation, it can take place either positively or negatively; through adjustment or maladjustment. The unconscious origin of art is only one side of the picture. Art is created at other levels of consciousness also, which help to change one's consciousness, apart from self-fulfillment. So, Art is not mere substitution but sublimation. Even if the pathogenic interpretation of art is accepted, still one has to account for the difference between distorted creation and the beautiful creation of art among the socalled maladjusted.

Art as an ingenious human creation has a significant human appeal for Humanity. Though individuals differ from one another with regard to style and taste, there is a fundamental intrinsic sensitivity to art in human nature. Perfected by human skill and preserved for posterity by human intellect, the purpose of art is not to dehumanize mankind but to elevate it. If peace, prosperity and progress are the collective ideals of humanity, the basic step would be to establish the harmony of coexistence, a sense of rhythmic discipline and vigour and a melody of happiness. At the outset collective peace and progress presuppose integration of the individual—his intellect, emotion and will. Just like art has artistic elements, life, its reflection, expression, inspiration and field of action, too has elements of art which make it aesthetic and realistic.

Art and the future:

Modern life is beset with many maladies of mechanisation. The technological innovation and modern means of communication have brought men close together but still the problem of alienation persists amidst a false sense of independence and freedom. Serious efforts have been taken to solve international crises but still the inner crisis of man—the conflict between the idea and the ideal torments mankind. Man has the courage to conquer the outer space, but is afraid of exploring the immanent space within. While religions of the day unite its people, they stiil perpetuate

division of mankind from within. The root cause of all these disturbence is due to the fact that man has not learnt to dwell in the spirit within. Under such conditions art naturally gets degraded and it would soon result in lowering consciousness, making life unnatural and meaningless.

The aim of art in the future should serve to unite mankind by fostering a sense of universal brotherhood and to establish the supremacy of the soul. Art should be made easily available to the mass to drive away ignorance and foster the ideals of good citizenship. For such a lofty purpose art should appeal to all levels without however loosing its standard and dignity. Further Art should be allowed to retain its spontaneity and artists should learn to flourish by spiritual and moral strength while the necessity of material proposition though vital is only secondary. In the human ladder of progress, there is a choice at every stage, either to take a step forward or go backward. Since it is inevitable that man should ultimately climb the ladder of evolution which is still incomplete, till man exceeds himself. It is left to the discretion of man to hasten such evolution or postpone it for a later date.

In short art should foster self-control through self-expression, self-conquest through self-giving, replace lust by love, pride and prejudice of the mind by piety and beauty of the soul, arrogance of the ego by the elegance of the spirit, discord by harmony of the being, falsehood by truth, perversion by perfection, turbulent passions of the heart by the sublime peace of the soul. The highest aspiration of every individual should henceforth be to become a perfect work of art.

NOTES ON INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY (1)

BY

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Mechanization of crafts follows the logic of economic realities. However, in the craft community the decision to adopt power tools or introduce machines is not a mere economic decision. The community's perspective on the future and on the past, its own aspirations, or, in contrast, the will of outsiders to which it submits with more or less consent, those are some of cultural and social factors in the context of economic concerns. Sociology focusses on these aspects. It has also been a sociological tradition to enquire into the social cost of modernization. It has been clear from the beginning to de Tocqueville, Marx, Durkheim, Simmel and Weber that industrilization and urbanization are accompanied by dehumanizing factors.

In this paper I wish to take up two sociological points; specifically regarding the handloom communities but perhaps offering a more general idea. One point deals with the way outsiders think of the position of crafts in an industrializing country. As W. I. Thomas said for the first time, 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences'. This point may clarify the notion of intermediate technology. The second point is a comparison of levels of mechanization in terms of social cost. It may help to strengthen the protective barriers around the traditional crafts.

Since the 19th century evolutionary ways of conceptualizing society have become very powerful. The crafts have thus been understood as a pre-industrial mode of production, a stage in an irreversible progression toward more powerful energy sources, more differentiated work systems and more integrated national economies. In this way powerlooms have been proposed as an intermediate form of production between the handloom and the

textile mill. As small powerloom factories do not have to be centrally located in large towns the policy makers thought of these as aids to keep the displaced villagers from flooding the over-utilized city facilities. And in order to reduce the discrepancy between few employment opportunities and large numbers of unemployed engineering graduates the powerloom factory was encouraged as small scale industry. Alternatively, the small factory was thought of as a possible co-operative venture of retrenched artisans.

Following this understanding the Government exempted small powerloom factories (four looms and less) from the prohibition to produce handloom products. Tax incentives were added. Before the new policy was effectuated the growth of powerloom factories had already been very rapid and it was based on second-hand equipment.[1] After some years it became clear that most power-loom factories operated under the exemption clause even though more than four machines had been installed.[2] An estimate of the powerloom share of the textile market in 1963 placed this sector at half the output of the handloom communities. By 1976, the powerloom production of cotton cloth had increased to four-fifths of the handloom share while the mills had maintained their fifty percent contribution to the cotton cloth market.[3] The shift in relative shares confirmed the assumptions of the Government's policy.

Nevertheless the question arises whether the promised improvements are materialized. The answer is not known. We do not know whether the small factories absorb displaced artisans, or whether they are perhaps co-operatively run by artisans. We are ignorant, too, about the handloom communities' own perception of the situation; do they see it as desirable or as threatening? Little is known about the economic situation of powerloom workers in comparison with artisans. About the persistent poverty of the

1. Report of the Powerloom Enquiry Committee, pp. 33 and 87. Ministry of Industries, 1964.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
3. Times of India, Jan. 22, 1977.

crafts communities there can be no doubt.[4] On the other hand, whether economic improvements in the powerloom factories, if any, justify the loss of manual skills and the stress on the community of artisans, cannot be assessed at all. Without answers on these points the assumptions of the powerloom policy can not be challenged; sociologically, the stage is set for a self—fulfilling prophecy.

However, even if answers to these questions were known, and even if these answers were negative—powerloom factories do not absorb artisans, they are a threat to the community, and power-loom workers are not better off than artisans—what could be done to stop the further growth of these factories? The economic fact is that powerloom factories are based on discarded machinery of textile mills. What is economically unworkable in a large mill can be profitable to a small factory with less overhead and simple outlets. In this way the powerloom factory prolongs the life of textile machinery and also serves as flexible reserve capacity for the mills. It is thus erroneous to see in the powerloom factory an intermediate technology between craft and mill; it is only intermediate between mill machinery of twenty years ago and automation.

Gandhi has proposed another conception of intermediate technology that has been receiving again a lot of attention thanks to the writings of Schumacher and Illich and the occurrence of the energy crisis. Intermediate technology in the Gandhian sense

4. Census of India, 1961, Monographs on Sujani Weaving of Broach, Mashru Weaving of Patan, Jari Industry of Surat, Bandhani of Tie and Dye Sari of Jamnagar, Handloom Sari Industry of Maheswar, Kosa Silk at Ganeshpur, Himroo Works of Aurangabad, Handlooms in Madras State, Silk Weaving of Kanchipuram, Cotton Textiles Industry in Mau Nath Bhanjan, Azamgarh, Silk Textiles Industry in Mubarakpur, Azamgarh, as well as several village studies under the auspices of the Census. See also National Council of Applied Economic Research, Survey of the Handloom Industry in Karnataka and Sholapur, 1959; Kakade, R. G. A Socio-Economic Survey of Weaving Communities in Sholapur, Poona, 1947.

means a specifically designed tool, machine, utility (storage, irrigation, etc), or mode of co-operation that aids a community's own productive effort. The technology serves the conviviality of the community.

While this conception of intermediate technology appears more suitable to the artisans it should be noted that the experience with Gandhian technology so far has not been convincing.[5] Technology may be under the community's control but demand for its products remains an outside factor. So, too, does the cost of living. Forces beyond the artisans' horizon drive up the prices of basic necessities, other equally distant factors cause unsteady demand and result in uncertain income and employment.

In conclusion of this section it may be stated that the craft communities stand on a crossoroad. On one side machine-made road has a bus-stop; the bus has not arrived but when it finally comes it promises to go haltingly towards an urban-based, industrial economy in which former artisans offer skilled labor on a competitive basis to a bierarchy of managers. On the other side is a footpath that leads up to a gate in a fence that separates the industrial economy from the economy of basic livelihood (Bosco Nedelcovic's term drawn from the works of Mumford and the Goodmans). In this separate economy all able-bodied people participate in the growth and production of basic necessities and infrastructure. In their remaining time they pursue other interests, among them the crafts. The artisan does not derive his subsistence income from his craft but from his participation in the basic livelihood economy. These are two ideal-types to clarify direction. Most people still think of industry and crafts as two modes of work that can be put on the same denominator. With some nostalgia for the traditions they hope that the high cost of fossil fuel will make the crafts again competitive, sooner or later. What has been suggested here is that this common denominator oversimplifies reality to the great harm of the craft heritage.

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5. Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, vol. 2, p. 1234. New York, 1968.

Notes on intermediate technology (2)

Systematic comparisons between artisans and factory workers are rare. Historical studies over the generations that have experienced great social changes are also mostly absent. In spite of these gaps there is some awareness of the social cost of modernization. Sociology has attempted in a multitude of ways to utilize the concept of alienation as an indicator of social cost.

In this section I propose to compare millworkers with powerloom workers and with artisans in terms of various indicators of social cost. The artisans are relatively low skilled handspinners and handloom weavers participating in Gandhian community development in rural areas of Gujarat. The powerloom workers live and work in small factories in Ahmedabad city. The millworkers are employed by large and modern mills in Ahmedabad and a nearby town. The samples were randomly drawn. The workers were interviewed at great length in their own language according to structured questionnaires that probed into their views on work, family, education and society. Due to the lengthy personal interviews the samples were kept small (16 artisans, 8 powerloom workers, respectively 30, 25 and 81 millworkers).

Differences in community, age, education, income, family situation, housing, and also differences in value orientations could be studied across the distinction between craft, powerloom and mill. Series of questions were utilized to construct the alienation variables. There are four such variables:

(1) anomie or the disruption of the idea of duty and devotion;

(2) loss of meaning or the contradiction between private effort and public policy;

(3) lack of power or the frustration of the desire to share in decision-making; there are three sub-indicators, namely, tension on the job, resentment in society, frustration in school; for the factory workers there is a fourth indicator, frustration of initiative;

(4) loss of community, measured as isolation; factory workers are also measured regarding the disruption of their orientation toward harmony.

The empirical data for these comparisons was collected in 1968-'69. Full details on questionnaire and variable construction and techniques of analysis are provided in the author's thesis.

The first comparison concerns millworkers and rural artisans. The latter are generally more oriented toward traditional values, they are poorer and they complain more about lack of status and lack of opportunities for self-improvement; they also express more resentment about society. The millworkers, on the other hand, are more self-centered in their values and they complain more about low pay although they are not so poor as the artisans. They live in worse conditions than the artisans and they complain a lot more about both physical and social nuisances in their housing situation. The millworkers live in larger households and maintain closer ties to their extended families. They also practice to a greater extent religiously-sanctioned customs. This is contrary to what is usually said of urban people but it should be noted that the artisans are exposed to Gandhian social reforms. Finally, the millworkers incur a lot more anomie, confusion, lack of power, frustration in school, and isolation. In other words, in comparing the artisans with millworkers in terms of social cost, it is the latter group, the millhands, who get caught in the crosscurrents of social change; economically they are better off, but they pay with mental anguish and poor living conditions.

In comparison with millworkers the powerloom workers incur even more mental trouble. The small sample of eight workers provides of course only suggestive results but these are all in one direction, namely, worse than millworkers. The powerloom workers are retrenched millworkers, not former artisans. They are older, less educated, poorer, and more oriented towards traditional values. They complain more about lack of status and they incur relatively higher levels on all alienation variables. The mill workers complain more about pay and arbitrariness in the mills. The powerloom workers nevertheless prefer to work in the mills in all respects.

What about the three groups' perspective on the future? All reject work in industry as future for their sons. Instead, they wish that their sons go as far with education as they can, or that they become teachers, or open a business. Only the artisans do not reject as do the factory workers, the idea that their sons should do the same as they do, or that they should return to the village after completing their education. But it should be noticed that these options were not given as high a rank as the three options mentioned earlier.

What are the advantages of industrialization and urbanization for the manual workers? The workers answer that their employment has increased their status in the community. They certainly earn more, but they also spend more; the cost of living haunts them. Work with powerful machines is a source of pride, not an alienating factor. The workers' desire for autonomy on the job is low; consequently their frustration level is low as well. The city is both source of harassment and escape, but most workers dream of retiring in their native villages. In the meantime they hope that their sons will be able to improve their lot through education. This hope transforms misery into sacrifice.

The data that is briefly analyzed here suggests that mechanization of the crafts is accompanied by heavy social burdens. The small powerloom factories that were studied are sweatshops. Their economic situation is so uncertain that the owners have little leeway to improve working conditions. They offer no dignified future for the transformation of the crafts.

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INDIAN AESTHETICS AND META-AESTHETICS

BY

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Introduction

India owes much to the early Indologists who rediscovered the treasures of her culture after mastering the classical languages of India. At the same time, it must be admitted that, not being products of the Indian tradition, there were occasions when they failed to catch the spirit behind the letter of the Indian classics and erred in the interpretation of their thought. One such instance is the view once held by them that the study of the beautiful was a neglected field for the Indian philosopher. William Knight observed '...there is scarcely a feeling for the beautiful in the Brahminical or Buddhist writings'. Vincent Smith said that the inhabitants of India have always been 'singularly indifferent to aesthetic merit'. Even Max Muller remarked '...it is strange... that a people so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindus should never have summarised their perceptions of the Beautiful.'[1] Although it is now long since such a view was put forth, a consideration of the reasons which might have led to it would help in bringing out certain special features of the Indian contribution to this branch of knowledge.

In the first place, the ideal of beauty finds no mention in the list of human values (*puruṣārtha*) given in Indian philosophy. The list at the most comprises four values, namely *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, and *mōkṣa*, which may be translated as wealth, pleasure, goodness, and liberation. A little reflection will show that this class of four (*catur-varga*) is to be understood as typical, rather than exhaustive, of human goals. It is natural for man with his

1. Cited by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in *Indian Aesthetics*, Srirangam, Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1928, pp. 45–47.

animal instincts to pursue in the first instance mundane and selfish goals such as wealth and pleasure. When his spiritual nature begins to assert itself, he turns voluntarily to ideals involving a measure of mental culture and self-restraint, such as the practice of sociable conduct. Since even these have their limitations, ultimately he yearns for complete and lasting freedom from the ills of life. Here, then, are two broad levels of values, lower and higher, values which man shares with animals and values which are really worthy of him. Of the higher values there is the preliminary level represented by *dharma* and the final level of *mōkṣa*. Similar to the moral value of goodness (*dharma*) and belonging to its level, there is the intellectual ideal of truth and the emotional ideal of beauty. These do not find mention in the Indian list of values as they do in the scheme of values conceived by Plato. But the absence of a formal inclusion of them in the scheme of puruṣārthas does not amount either to ignorance of them or to apathy towards them on the part of the Indian philosopher. On the contrary, truth and beauty received substantial recognition and attention from him as did the ideal of *dharma*. Their omission from the formal list must have had special reasons. What matters is whether the concepts represented by these names have been studied and not whether the names are mentioned. As a matter of fact, truth, beauty and goodness form a family of values, and no philosopher could afford to ignore any of them.

As for truth, the Indian philosopher was neither oblivious of the human longing for correct knowledge nor neglectful of the study of that longing. The pursuit of knowledge gives us science if it relates to aspects of reality and metaphysics if it concerns the whole of reality. The entire discussion about the puruṣārthas would not have been possible except on the foundation of an understanding of the nature of reality taken as a whole – *tattva-jñāna* as it is called. In other words, as in other traditions, in the Indian tradition the philosophy of values (*prayōjana-vicāra*) is an outcome of metaphysics (*tattva-vicāra*). The Indian justification for not including truth, or knowledge of reality (*tattva-jñāna*, or simply *jñāna*) among the values formally so called seems to be that its

attainment is the basis on which alone the study of the other values could proceed. After all, since the attainment of truth has to be taken for granted by the philosophy of values, the nature of truth cannot be discussed therein. In the Indian case, as in other cases, the special study of truth forms a division by itself, namely epistemology (*pramāṇa-vicāra*).

Coming to the ideal of beauty, the fact that man feels drawn towards objects of beauty in nature and art could not have escaped the attention of the Indian philosopher with his special concern for humanistic philosophy. It is true that we do not come across a specific term to represent this ideal. But this is probably because the Indian thinker found that the ideal has an objective and a subjective aspect and no single term would do justice to both of them. He preferred to indicate the pursuit through a variety of terms. The English term 'beauty' signifies properly a quality in the object. There are Samskṛt terms having such a reference such as *saundarya, ramaṇiyatā*, and *cārutva*. But this quality in the object, being somewhat elusive, has to be understood by reference to its effect on our minds. We call a thing beautiful when it gives us pure, self-forgetful joy. To indicate this subjective aspect, namely aesthetic delight, we have such terms as *ānanda, āsvāda*, and *rasa*.

We now come to another special feature of the Indian treatment of the aesthetic ideal which the early Western scholar overlooked. Beauty is a least of two orders: natural and artistic. In each case there are two problems which confront the philosopher—the character of beauty and the significance of beauty. Nature is a part of the reality into which the philosopher has to inquire. Hence the study of beauty in nature, both in respect of its character and in respect of its significance, forms, as it should, a regular part of philosophy in India as well as in the West. In some schools of Indian philosophy like Sāṅkhya and Vedānta, the treatment is explicit; in others it is implicit but not absent. But as regards beauty in art, the Indian philosopher seems to have felt the need to divide labour with non-philosophers.

The significance of beauty in art exercised the direct attention of the Indian philosopher. He considered its bearing on life—its relation to other values, especially *mōkṣa*. The character of beauty in art was, however, left to be studied by a distinct class of thinkers called Ālaṅkārikas, who were professionally literary critics. This is the reason why we do not find the character of art discussed in the Indian philosophical treatises. But this relegation was not made for any lack of appreciation on the part of the philosopher of the importance of this problem; for any discussion of the significance of art presupposes the understanding of its character. The real reason was that the content of a work of art does not belong to the real world. It is ideal, a product of the artist's imagination. This is not to say that it is unreal or even illusory. The point is simply that ontological considerations are irrelevant to the character of art. Artistic beauty being outside the real world, our study of its character does not call for any knowladge of reality. Since metaphysics is unconnected with the understanding of the character of artistic beauty, its application to that understanding would result in conclusions not germane to the object of study. Hence Indian philosophers rightly believed that, for a proper understanding of the character of beauty in art, it is necessary to separate this branch of investigation from philosophy proper and entrust it to another class of thinkers equally interested in art but not committed to any metaphysics, namely the critics, or Ālaṅkārikas.

The wisdom of this separation has been borne out by results. It gave rise to the evolution of a distinct science, Alaṅkāra-śāstra, which specially concerned itself with the nature of beauty in the world of art. And the freedom it enjoyed from metaphysical commitments resulted in original discoveries, such as the concept of *dhvani*. The philosophers too, having disburdened themselves of a specialist's task, drew upon the conclusions of the Ālaṅkārikas for the further investigation into the significance of artistic beauty—its place in a scheme of values. Thus the Indian treatment of beauty in art is the joint contribution of Ālaṅkārikas and Darśanikas, art critics and philosophers.

The two problems concerning art which we distinguished from each other, namely its character and significance, are closely related. Hence the fields of Alaṅkāra and Darśana in the treatment of art, though distinct, often ran into each other. On the one hand, the discussion of the nature of art, when pursued, often brought up questions of its significance. Hence many of those who started as Ālaṅkārikas and studied the structure and function of art were drawn into the deeper problem of its meaning for life. In the understanding of this meaning they looked to some school or other of philosophy for principles of interpretation. Thus Śrīśaṅkuka and Mahima-bhaṭṭa were influenced by the Nyāya school, and Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka came under the influence of Sāṅkhya. Ānandavardhana, the discoverer of *dhvani*, was inspired by the Pratyabhijñā school of philosophy. Most of the later Ālaṅkārikas beginning with Mammaṭa and ending with Jagannātha were drawn to the Vēdānta schools. On the other hand, any appreciation of the significance of art depended on the understanding of its nature. Hence some of those who came from the side of philosophy and were concerned with the significance of art stepped into the field of the Ālaṅkārikas and discussed the nature of art in the manner of the Ālaṅkārikas themselves. We have the outstanding example of Abhinavagupta in this regard. He was one of the foremost teachers of Kāṣmīra Śaivism. But his contribution to Alaṅkāra-śāstra is equally great. Again, Appayya-dīkṣita, the great Advaita teacher, from whose pen we have works on many a school of philosophy, found interest in contributing to the field of Alaṅkāra-śāstra as well.

The foregoing discussion must have helped to reveal that the philosophical treatment of beauty admits of two divisions. As we have seen, there are two fundamental questions regarding beauty. One relates to the nature of beauty. What are the characteristics, both objective and subjective, of the ideal of beauty? The question has to be discussed both with reference to beauty in general and with reference to beauty in its different orders, such as beauty in nature and beauty in art. This is the question that forms the subject-matter of what we call Aesthetics.

But a philosopher cannot afford to stop with an understanding of the constitution of beauty. He must pass on to examine how this ideal, both in its general sense and in its specific forms, stands in relation to other ideals, especially to the highest ideal in his scheme. This is the other question—of significance. Since this discussion passes beyond the normal scope of Aesthetics and is concerned with an assessment of beauty from a wider and higher point of view, we may designate this branch of investigation Meta-aesthetics. In this paper we shall attempt to indicate the broad features of Indian Aesthetics and Meta-aesthetics in respect of three orders of beauty—beauty in parts of nature, beauty in art, and beauty in nature as a whole.

Beauty in Parts of Nature

When we speak of beauty in nature from our ordinary experience of it, we mean only beauty in the parts of nature, that is in particular objects or situations—in hills and dales, in oceans and rivers, in animals and plants, in the sunrise and the sunset, in the rainbow or in the movement of clouds. Nature as a whole is not presented to our perception. There is no doubt that the beauty that we perceive in the parts of nature gives us pure joy. But it cannot be a secure source of delight. This is because it is beauty on the physical plane and hence, as we shall see, it can be neither uniform nor constant.

In the first place, not all aspects of nature are beautiful. There are some which are unpleasant, for example, a barren and parched up land or the ferocity of predators—'Nature, red in tooth and claw'. Most other aspects are just neutral, or plain, for example, a sprawling grassland. Our attention could easily shift from the beautiful to the ugly, and the thought of ugliness in certain aspects of nature with which beauty co-exists prevents us from taking full delight in the perception of the beautiful.

In the second place, even an aspect of nature that is known to be beautiful at one time does not remain beautiful. The inconstancy is partly due to the character of the objective phenomenon itself and partly due to the attitude of the observer,

Matter is subject to change. When its physical basis changes, a thing of beauty may cease to be beautiful. A beautiful landscape may be laid waste by devastating flood, earthquake or fire. Living beings lose their charm through old age and disease. Even when the physical basis has not radically changed, the observer may cease to look upon the object as beautiful. To perceive beauty in the object and derive pure delight from it, the subject must maintain an impersonal attitude to it. But such an attitude cannot be guaranteed with reference to a natural object. Being part of the real world, a natural object easily tends to evoke personal desires. The moment a desire for possessing the object arises in the mind, the object ceases to be 'beautiful' and becomes merely 'useful'. Desire brings in its train effort, effort involves delays, defeats, and conflicts with others, and the same object which once gave pure delight becomes a source of pain instead.

For these reasons, the Indian philosopher has never regarded the beauty that is commonly perceived in nature as anything more than of the lowest order. That there is beauty in nature is a cause for delight and wonder. At the same time its partial and transitory character should serve as a warning against attachment to the world of matter. This is the lesson that we are asked to learn from nature as we ordinarily experience it. The Sāṅkhya school pictures *prakṛti* as a deluding dancer from which the *puruṣa* must learn to withdraw.[1] And the Upaniṣads uniformly teach discrimination between the pleasing, or attractive (*preyas*) and the auspicious (*śreyas*).[2]

Beauty in Art

The deficiencies of natural beauty as it is commonly experienced points to the ideal of perfect beauty. Beauty may be said to be perfect when it is untainted by any association with ugliness and when it is unaffected by any change, either in the object itself or in the disposition of the subject. Since we do not find

1. Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa, *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, vv. 59 & 65.
2. e.g. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, I, ii, 2.

such beauty in nature as it is ordinarily presented to us, we turn to art. There would have been no need for art if perfect beauty were to be found in nature itself. Art is the human portrayal of the ideal of perfect beauty which the mind entertains. There is no doubt that art fulfils the ideal.

In the first place, artistic beauty is complete. There is no place for ugliness in a work of art. A painting, a drama, a sculpture or a song is complete in itself; and when we take it as a whole, it reveals a harmony of colours, sounds, shapes or events. Even an item that is displeasing in ordinary life, like untimely death, blends with other items in the pattern of a drama.

In the second place, artistic beauty is free from changes either objective or subjective. The physical medium which art employs may undergo change or mutilation. But the idea which it represents survives the ravages of time. That is why even fragments of a ruined monument or parts of a forgotten play are valued; they enable us to reconstruct and enjoy the idea behind them. Again, the attitude of the appreciator to a work of art cannot be anything but impersonal. There is no likelihood of the appreciator viewing the object from a utilitarian angle. One may desire to build a house in a beautiful place in nature but not in the painting of a beautiful place.

Thus artistic beauty is both complete and constant. It therefore gives that satisfaction which nature as it is commonly known does not. The secret of the success of artistic beauty over natural beauty is that it falls outside the real world. It is ideal, a product of the artist's imagination. The artist draws material from the world in the form of particular objects or situations. But these are so transformed by his imagination as to become general ideas. A beggar or an old man observed by a painter becomes just the idea of begging or old age in the painting of a beggar or old man. Hence this process of transformation has been called generalization (*sādhāraṇikaraṇa*) by the Indian aesthetician. As art is free from the limitations to which natural beauty is subject, the delight which it yields is referred to as 'higher pleasure' (*para-nirvṛti*).

While art as such occupies a higher status than parts of nature, two levels within art have been identified by the Indian aesthetician on the basis of the theme dealt with. The distinction has been made by reference to poetry and drama taken as specimens, but it applies to all fine arts. The distinction turns on the predominance either of the imaginative or of the emotional element over the other in the subject-matter. An artist may choose to describe a scene in nature or an activity of man taken by himself. The emotional impact of the scene or of the activity on the mind of someone will be referred to only in passing. In the alternative, he may focuss his attention on the emotional effect itself and treat of the natural or human situation causing the emotion only as a means of indicating the emotion. A work of art having an emotion (*bhāva*) for its theme is rated as superior to one which deals with a situation (*daśā*) for its own sake. The special nature of its appreciation secures for it two advantages over the former.

To appreciate the description of a situation, one has simply to be absorbed in the contemplation of the description. But to appreciate the emotion indicated in a situation, one has to withdraw into oneself and live through the experience in a sublimated form. Such a process of appreciation is said to yield an order of delight which is more intense than in the other case. It is appropriately called *rasa*, which literally means 'flavour', because to know what an emotion is like, one has oneself to taste it. By experiencing the emotion in a refined form exactly as presented by the artist, the appreciator unwrittingly secures emotional culture also, a result which is of great significance in moral life. Thus, apart from giving greater delight, the predominantly emotional type of work leaves a permanent impress on the character of the appreciator.

By virtue of its special advantages, the *rasa* type of art received close study from the Indian aesthetician, and this led to important developments. Firstly, it was in this context that the concept of *dhvani* was discovered. The term means 'suggestion', and its discovery underlines the fact that emotion can

only be suggested or indicated, and not described, or presented directly. Secondly, the analysis of the process by which *rasa* is experienced led to different theories on the relation of *rasa* to the self of the experiencer. The theory of Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka, based on Sāṅkhya philosophy holds that *rasa* is newly produced in the self, which in its true nature is free from both pleasure and pain. The theory of Abhinavagupta, based on the general Vēdānta standpoint, represents that *rasa* is a manifestation of the native bliss of the self.

The preference for *bhāva* as a theme by Indian artists brought Indian art into direct contact with religion. The theme of art need not be religious, but the Indian artist has often taken up for treatment the religious sentiments of devotion to God (*bhakti*) and the tranquillity of liberation (*śānta*) in addition to secular feelings, like fear (*bhaya*), love (*rati*), and sorrow (*śōka*). Art in India has thus been an aid in fostering the religious spirit in an attractive way. This is true of the Buddhist and Jaina as well as of the Hindu tradition.

Even when the theme is not religious, art, it has been pointed out, is significant for religion in indirect ways. This assessment, however, is a special contribution of Vēdānta. The goal of religion is the attainment of *mōkṣa*. According to Sāṅkhya, art has no relevance to *mōkṣa*. Its only value is that, by putting us in the world of imagination, it provides us, distracted souls, with a temporary diversion from the miseries of actual life. According to Vēdānta, art is both a pointer to and a preparation for *mōkṣa*. The harmony which a work of art presents is indicative of the harmony in the universe which one who has realized Brahman experiences. The pure delight which it yields, especially when it is of that intense form called *rasa*, is suggestive of the unsurpassed bliss that characterizes the state of *mōkṣa*. No wonder *rasa* has been described as fraternal to Brahman-experience (*brahmāsvāda-sahodaraḥ*). The process of contemplating the beauty of art is virtually a training in meditation (*yōga*), which is the central discipline for *mōkṣa*. Art has the advantage of *yōga* without involving the strain that usually goes with it. When the theme

of art is emotional, it becomes an ally of *dharma* by providing for mental purity (*cittaśuddhi*).

Beauty in Nature as a Whole

We began our account of art by pointing out how artistic beauty stands on a higher footing than beauty in parts of nature. It is both complete and constant. Man takes to the creation and appreciation of art being dissatisfied with the imperfect beauty of nature in parts. But there is reason for him to be dissatisfied even with art. In spite of its perfection, artistic beauty is after all outside the real world. Consequently, while the joy it gives is more absorbing than the delight of natural beauty, the moment we are out of it we badly feel the gulf between the imaginary and the actual. This deficiency leads us to ask whether it would not be possible to realize the ideal of perfect beauty in nature itself from a point of view different from the one which we ordinarily occupy with reference to it. Obviously, such a realization will depend on the possibility of fulfilling with reference to nature the conditions under which perfect beauty is experienced in art. The beauty of art is free from ugliness because a work of art is presented as a whole and not in bits. The beauty is also free from change because, though it is expressed through matter, it rises above the constraint of matter. The question, then, is, 'Is it possible to view nature as a whole and apart from its material form?'

The pluralistic Sāṅkhya school denies the possibility of fulfilling these conditions. Any experience of nature (*prakṛti*) is possible for the soul (*puruṣa*) only through the psychic apparatus called the *buddhi*, which is itself a product of *prakṛti*. In the state of bondage the *puruṣa* mistakenly identifies itself with the *buddhi* and through it comes into contact with *prakṛti*. But in bondage under the influence of personal tendencies the *buddhi* is dominated in turns by *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. Such a *buddhi* can give the *puruṣa* only a view of particular material objects and situations, which occupy an essential place in our day-to-day life. In the state of liberation the *puruṣa*, having acquired knowledge of its difference from *prakṛti*, dissociates itself from

the *buddhi* and thereby attains spiritual aloofness from *prakṛti*. Thus neither in the state of bondage nor in the state of release is there any question of a knowledge of nature as a whole and beyond its material form.

All Vēdānta is in a general sense monistic. The entire universe consisting of the physical world and the world of souls is, in one sense or other, rooted in the one ultimate reality, namely Brahman. Therefore, one who realizes Brahman does not, as in Sāṅkhya, lose touch with nature, or the physical world. On the contrary he experiences it in a new light. His vision of it is both synoptic and spiritual. Unlike the ordinary man, he knows the whole of nature, not by the summation of the separate ordinary views of it, but by the discovery of its basis, namely Brahman. In thus viewing nature through Brahman, he sees behind the diversity of its physical manifestations. The result is that he experiences an essential harmony in nature—everything taking a rightful place in the scheme of things such that perfect peace reigns beneath the apparent conflicts and contradictions of our ordinary view of nature. This inner harmony of nature may be described as its beauty. As this beauty belongs to the essence of nature rather than to its outer forms, it is undying and eternal. Thus, according to Vēdānta, nature as such is perfectly beautiful. This is the highest order of beauty. As the source of cosmic beauty is Brahman, by way of an extension of the theory of cosmic beauty, Brahman itself comes to be regarded as the ultimate in beauty. A clue to this aesthetic conception of Brahman is contained in the term Ānanda, which is one of the approximate terms used by the Upaniṣads to denote Brahman. Ānanda means bliss, and Brahman is referred to as Ānanda because of the bliss that accompanies the vision of the Brahman—centred inner harmony of the universe. Theistic Vēdānta carries the aesthetic conception of Brahman to a more specific point. It regards beauty as an attribute of Brahman and considers the order of the universe as the highest expression of his beauty. In this connection he is described as *Bhuvana-sundara*, God as the cosmic beauty.

The Place of Art in the Orders of Beauty

According to Vēdānta, beauty is of three levels. At the lowest level there is the real but imperfect beauty in the parts of nature, which is presented to the common man, the man in bondage. At the highest level there is the real and perfect beauty of nature as such, which is experienced by one who has realized Brahman, the liberated one. Art stands mid-way between the two levels, sharing something of the two and serving as a passage from the one to the other. It retains a resemblance to the world of common experience. Its content is familiar; it speaks in the language of life—of its objects and situations. That is why it appeals to the common man. At the same time its subject-matter is not a reproduction of the ordinary. Were it so, it would not interest us. We look in art for something which we miss in our ordinary view of nature—beauty which is unmixed with ugliness and which is unaffected by change. Art fulfils this longing in us by transforming particular facts into general ideas. There is no end to the variety of ideas which the artist's imagination can throw up. For this reason the artist has been compared to the Creator (Prajāpati). But the creative process must have a model, an ideal, to inspire and guide it. The Sāṅkhya school, which does not admit any better beauty than art, fails, to explain this need. But Vēdānta is ready with an explanation.

The ultimate in beauty is the beauty of the cosmos. It is ever-present to the vision of the liberated one but hidden from the view of the ordinary man. The artist as an artist occupies a special position. Though not himself a seer, he has occasional glimpses of the order that lies at the heart of things. For this reason he has been compared to a seer (*muni*). Typical facts of nature, which to us seem quite commonplace, inspire the sensitive mind of the artist with a vision of the inner beauty of the universe. Overcome by the joy of his vision, he cannot but share it with others. The creative activity which spontaneously follows is the means of that sharing. The facts which served as the occasions for his vision are so transformed by his imagination as to serve as symbols of the perfect beauty of the universe.

Therefore, when appreciators contemplate these forms of beauty created by the artist, they are able to recapture for themselves the artist's glimpse of cosmic beauty which is enshrined in these forms and thereby derive the same delight with which the artist started. Such a reconstruction by the appreciator, of course, presupposes that he is of the same mind as the artist, sharing his imagination and feeling though not to the same degree but lacking his skill for creation. The qualified appreciator of art has therefore been called a *sahṛdaya* one of similar heart.

The role of the artist is thus to serve as a link between the liberated and the bound, the *mukta* and the *bandha.* To one who has realized Brahman and is ever-present contact with the beauty of the universe art is superfluous. But we who are ignorant can have intimations of that perfect and real beauty only through art, which, though imaginary, shares the perfection of the former. In a general sense all empirical beauty is an expression of the ultimate beauty of the cosmos. Even the beauty that we perceive in the parts of nature is such an expression to the extent that it is beauty though imperfect. It suspends, however briefly, the burden of activity and kindles our innate sense of order. But beyond this it is not an authentic expression of the highest in beauty, the essence of which is non-sensuous, or spiritual. Hence it is in the ideal realm of art that we have a genuine reflection of the Brahman—centred inner beauty of the universe.

In this connection it is of interest to note that the exponents of the different fine arts in India have vied with one another in interpreting Brahman in terms of their own fine arts and explaining the arts as expressions of the Brahman so conceived. We have thus the *raśa-brahma-vāda* of the exponents of poetry and drama, the *nāda-brahma-vāda* of the specialists in music, and the *vāstu-brahma-vāda* of the authorities on architecture including sculpture and painting. The first conceives of Brahman as the highest in *raśa* and explains the *raśa* that occurs in poetry and drama as the manifestation thereof. The second conceives of the sound of music (*nāda*) as a revelation of Brahman which it regards as the ultimate in *nāda.* The third regards Brahman as the indweller of the constructed dwelling place (*vāstu*). It is more appropriate to go by the spirit of these theories rather than by their letter. Their common idea is that art is a gateway to the ultimate in beauty.

AGRICULTURAL TRADITIONS OF TAMIL NĀḌU

By

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Farming has been an important occupation in Tamiḻ Nāḍu since times immemorial. The ancient Tamiḻs raised crops, domesticated cattle for farm-use and evolved suitable farming implements. They had also adopted tank-irrigation of their lands and had raised drought resistant crops also. Whenever the monsoons failed and tanks got dried up, they had dug wells for tapping sub-soil water. Whenever the crops failed to grow in spite of these sustained attempts they attempted to study all aspects relating to seeds, their storage and vigour. They observed that weeds also came up along with crops, and so they adopted suitable methods of weeding. They took measures to protect the crops carefully until they were harvested. Knowing that each crop exhausted the nutrients of the soil they applied manures to the fields before raising the next crop or adopted rotation of crops. These practices were improved and refined by successive generations of farmers and handed down to posterity as a traditional system of agriculture. The history of Agricultural Development in Tamiḻ Nāḍu takes its origin in these ancient agricultural practices.

Boundaries of Tamiḻ Nāḍu

The state of ancient Tamiḻ Nāḍu spread from *Kumari* (Cape Comorin) in the south to *Thiruvēṅkaḍam* (the present Thirupathi hills) in the North, and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west. The present State of Kerala was a part of the composite state of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. The poet, Panampāranār thus fixes the boundaries of the state: "In between the northern *Vēṅkaḍam* and the southern *Kuṃari* lies the great Tamiḻ speaking land"[1] The mother tongue of the people of this region is Tamiḻ.

1. Thol—Eḻuthu—Pāyirum-1.

The Physical features

The physical features of Tamil Nāḍu embrace a variety of agro-climatic conditions. There are hilly ranges like the Thirupathi hills, Kodaikānal hills, Palani hills and Kolli hills. It is blessed with rivers like the Cauvery, the South Peṇṇai, the Pālāṟu, the Vaigai and the Porunai. Being a peninsula, Tamil Nāḍu commands immense sea-wealth. Thick forests and long stretches of plains are spread over the length and breadth of the land. These varied agro-climatic conditions are suitable for raising every variety of crop. Tamil Nāḍu thus possesses such physical features as may assure the state unfailing monsoon rains.

The Evidences

It is from Tamil literature of different historical periods that the history of agricultural development in Tamil Nāḍu may be gleaned. It is a sad commentary that there are no such chronicles on Tamil kings as have been written in Western countries. Further, even the inscriptions on monuments, coins and copper plates left behind by the kings nearer to us in 'time' convey much less information on agriculture than on the wars fought by them, their victories and their deeds of charity. But ancient Tamil literatures which depict how the Tamils lived in harmony with Nature convey a lot of information relating to agriculture directly, and indirectly in the form of folksongs. Further, the literatures of the medieval age which were predominantly religious and puranical in theme provide some information on agricultural practices of the medieval age. The history of agricultural development in Tamil Nāḍu may be understood by studying Tamil literature chronologically.

The Age of Tolkāppiyar (c. 700 B.C.)

Although farming has been an occupation in Tamil Nāḍu since antiquity, the first Tamil work which conveys agricultural information is "*Tolkāppiyam*", a book of Tamil Grammar and Prosody written about 700 B.C.[2] The people of this age had classified

2. A critical study on Tholkappiyam by Dr. C. Elakkuvanar.

their lands into four types according to particular kinds of physical features.[3]

Thus, hills and hilly tracts were called '*kuṛinchi*' lands; these lands were considered suitable for raising fruit trees, tubers and millets. The forests on the downs and the pastoral country around the forests were known as the land of *mullai*, signifying that the land was predominantly dry and rain-fed, and was suitable for dry land-crops like the Italian millets and *sāmai*. In addition, cattle rearing was also practised in *mullai*.. The wet-land plains blessed with rivers were known as the land of *marutham* denoting that the land was suitable for raising crops like paddy, sugarcane, and banana. The sandy stretches of land along the sea-coast were known as the land of *neital*, and was put to best use by practising fish-farming and salt-panning, and by raising coconut and palm groves. The lands of *kuṛiñchi* and *mullai* which became dry owing to continued drought came to be known as *pālai* (desert land).[4] This indicates that permanent desert lands were unknown in Tamiḻ Nāḍu, and that a land becoming desert-like was only a temporary phenomenon.

The farmers of these four land-types were called '*vēḷāṉ māndar*'. Their expressed duty as established in custom is to raise crops and produce food. As it was felt that farming would not yield its results well if the farmers were to attend to other occupations, it is stated in '*Tolkāppiyam*' thus:

> "Vēḷāṉ māndar are to farm and
> feast, not anything else"[5]

The Age of Śaṅkam

The Age of Śaṅkam literature covers a period of time from about 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.[6] This age may be described as the

3. Thol—Poruḷ—akam—Nūrpā-3.
4. Cilampu—Kāṭukāṉ-64-66.
5. Thol—poruḷ—Marapu—nūrpā-81.
6. 'Tamiḻ literature'—Ramaswamy Naidu—Annamalai University publication (1954) pp. 13.

Golden Era of Agriculture. The great literary pieces of this age are *Pattuppaṭṭu, Eṭṭu Tokai, Patineṇkeeḻ Kaṇakku, Cilampu* and *Mēkalai*. It was during this age that agricultural occupation gained a status and technical expertise unknown to the farmers of earlier ages.

The greatness of farming

There were no castes in ancient Tamiḻ Nāḍu. However, there were different classes of people like the brahmins, the kings, the merchants and the farmers, and these divisions were recognised only on the principle of division of labour, and no special dignity was conferred on any one of these occupations. The farmers known as the '*Vēḷḷāḷars*' enjoy great social status. As farming was considered basic to all other occupations it was treated as the 'foremost' and the most independent of all occupations.[7] In fact, the 'pricking' stick with which the farmer drives the plough-bullocks is described as the sustainer of the sceptred-hand of the king.[8] Further, everyone was proud to identify oneself with the farming occupation. The poets claimed that they were also farmers wielding the plough of words; the kings and the soldiers claimed that they were farmers handling the plough of bows and arrows. The material content in the literatures of the periods depicts the occupations unique of the four-fold types of lands described above under 'physical features'. It was because Saint Thiruvaḷḷuvar recognised the greatness of farming that he scripted ten couplets on the title, "farming" in his incomparable work, 'Thirukkuṛaḷ'. In short, the occupation of 'farming' was considered the occupation of the highly prestigeous and civilised people.[9]

The Duties of the King

The Śaṅkam Age was an age of sovereign kings. The composite state of Tamiḻ Nāḍu was ruled over by *Cēra, Cōḻa* and *Pāṇḍya* kings and their subordinate minor royalties. They believed that their foremost duty was to ensure agricultural

7. Thirukkuṛaḷ—couplet. 1033.
8. Yēr yēḻupathu—verse. 13.
9. The History of Tamiḻ Nāḍu—Dr. K. K. Pillay, (1975). pp. 20.

prosperity. Their prime objectives were to make their states self-sufficient and not depend on other states for their essential goods, to see that their subjects had no reason whatsoever to emigrate to other states and to ensure their prosperity in land-wealth and water-wealth so that they were assured of immense riches and prosperity.[10] For this, they undertook to reclaim forest lands and uncultivated lands for cultivation and to dig new tanks and ponds for irrigation water. Whenever the kings forgot or failed to discharge these duties, the nobles used to remind them of these duties. They realised that even if the area of rain-fed land of the king was immense, it would not be productive unless there were a large number of tanks and ponds to harvest rain-water for irrigation. So the kings knew it full well that their reputation would endure to posterity only if they built tanks (for storing irrigation water).[11]

The Land

The genius of the ancients in classifying land into four types was recognised; and the cultivable lands were conveniently divided into two types viz. the irrigated '*nancei*' (wet) lands and rain-fed '*puncei*' (dry) lands. The five important practices which were followed during this age are ploughing, manuring, weeding, irrigating and protecting the crops from pests. To-day, all these practices are clubbed under one name, viz., package of practices. St. Thiruvalluvar summarises thus:

> " More important than ploughing is manuring.
> Then after weeding the field, more important
> than even watering is the guarding of the crop "[12]

It should be remembered that the farmers had a target of realising one thousand *kalams* from one *vēli* of land i.e., Fourteen tonnes of paddy/hectare.[13]

10. Cilampu, Mańkalam—line 15.
11. Puṛam—Verse. 18.
12. Thirukkuṛaḷ—Couplet. 1038.
13. Ainkuṛunūṛu—Verse. 1.

The Sources of Water

People irrigated their lands from rivers, ponds and wells. They took particular care to locate the sources of water suitably. They located the tanks in places of excess in-flow of water, and built around them banks in the shape of a half-moon[14]. They built dams connecting big boulders and rocks wherever possible in hill areas (*kuṟinchi lands*) and thus increased the water potential in hills without incurring much financial expenditure. In some places they dug canals from the rivers to fill their in-land tanks and ponds with river water. They employed watchman to keep the banks of rivers, canals, etc., in constant repair and to guard against wastage of water.[15] In order to use water economically, the system of laying beds and watering the beds was in vogue.[16]

Lift Irrigation

Digging of deep wells for the purpose of drinking water and for irrigation was common in *Koṅku Nāḍu* (in and around Coimbatore District). The people had a capacity to divine the places where there was much sub-soil water or flow of water.[17] They used a bullock-drawn contrivance called '*kapilai*' for baling out water from deep wells, and men-operated contrivance called '*Kapilai*' for baling out water from deep wells, and men-operated contrivance called '*ēṟṟam*' for baling out water from shallow wells. They had wells known as '*Ilanchi*' from which the palace gardens and orchards were irrigated mechanically.[18]

The Seasons

A sense of seasonal operations is essential for sound farming. In times of yore, a year was recognised in terms of six sequential seasons; thus: *Iḷa vēnil* (months of April and May), *mutu vēnil* (June and July), *kār* (August and September), *Kūthir* (October and November), *mun pani* (December and January) and *pin pani*

14. Puṟam—Verse. 118.
15. Akam—Verse. 252.
16. Thirukkuṟaḷ—couplet. 718.
17. Kuṟunthokai—Verse. 224.
18. Manimēkalai—Chap. 19, line. 102.

(February and March).[19] Tamiḷ Nāḍu begins to receive monsoon rains just before the break of the *kār* season. As this was considered the right season for farming operations, the farmers would return home at the break of *kār* (August) to start their farming operations, if they were away on business.[20]

The Plough

The farmers believed in 'ploughing deeply rather than broadly'. These farmers were honoured as '*senchāl*' farmers.[21] Buffaloes and oxen were used to draw the plough. They used to plough the fields till the big clods of soil were broken to small pieces, lay the fields fallow for some time and then raise crops in the fields. They applied manure after seeds had been sown or crops had been raised, and then fenced the fields all around for protection from cattle. These fences were raised with live plants and prickly plants.[22]

The Seeds

The people knew the value of quality seeds for reaping high yields. So they used to earmark the first ears of corn that matured well for seed purposes.[23] Grains meant for seeds were strictly not used for food thus giving rise to a belief that those who consumed the seed-grains would fare badly.[24]

Range of Crops

The farmers cultivated a wide range of crops, from commercial crops to cereal crops. In wetlands, besides rice, sugarcane and banana were grown. In dry lands, oilseeds like the sesamum and the groundnut were cultivated. Garden crops like the coconut, and the arecanut, fruit trees and spices, and cotton—the basic material for textiles were raised.

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19. Thol—Poruḷ—Akam.—Nūrpā. 6-10.
20. Mullaittiṇai—Dr. M. Varadarajan. (1964) p. 8.
21. Naṟṟiṇai—Verse. 340.
22. Mullaippāṭṭu—line. 27.
23. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu—Verse. 270.
24. Puṟam—Verse. 230.

Mixed Cropping

The ancient Tamiḻs possessed skills of technical farming also. It was in their custom to raise green grams in the harvested rice fallows.[25] It is scientifically a proved fact that the bacteria in the root-knots of these legumes help fixation of atmospheric nitrogen in the soil resulting in increased yield for the next crop in the land. Gaining this scientific knowledge by experience, the farmers had exploited it by raising legumes after every rice crop. In addition to such rotation of crops, they followed a system of mixed cropping also. They used to grow Italian millets and Indian beans as mixed crops. It is also seen that cotton and millets were grown as mixed crops.[26] Further ginger and turmeric were also raised as intercrops in coconut groves and jack fruit groves.[27]

The weeds

Realising that the weeds grew along with crops robbing the crops of their due, they felt it a bounden duty to remove the weeds from the fields. It is noteworthy to remember here that weeding by the farmers was so highly regarded that it was equated with the social responsibility of the king in ridding the society of its social pests and wicked men.[28] They used hand weeders called '*tular*' for weeding purposes. Further they undertook measures to protect the standing crops from pests of animals like the sheep and the boars, from bird-pests like the parrots and the crows and from rodents and insects like the rats, the crabs and the beetles.

The Harvest

A contrivance called '*kuyam*' was used to cut the ears of grains at the time of harvest. The grains were separated by beating the ears of corn on a hard surface or by making the

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25. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu—Verse. 47.

26. Kuṟunthokai—Verse. 72.

27. Cilampū—Nāṭukāṉ—lines. 72-75.

28. Thirukkuṟaḷ—Couplet. 550.

bullocks tread on them. Then the grains separated from chaff by winnowing were collected, measured and stored in granaries (*kaḷañchiyam*). Sometimes they stored the grains in baskets made of straw and plastered with cow-dung.[29] The yields were measured in volume against a standard of measurements ranging from *āḻākku, nāḻi, marakkāl* to *parai, kalam* and *Kōttai.* It was part of their custom to pay one sixth of the produce as tax to their kings. The salaries of the temple *purōhits,* the farm labourers and other like the carpenters, the iron-smiths, etc., were paid in terms of fixed measures of rice in the threshing arena itself. The farm-houses in which rice of earlier harvests were stored were called *Vaḷa manai* (The House of prosperity).[30]

The Post-harvest operations :

After harvest, generally the field was ploughed and left fallow. Sometimes, they used to flood the fields and allow the stubble to rot. Sometimes they ploughed the stubble land and raised the next crop immediately, and in crops like the sugarcane and the banana they allowed the second crop (Ratoons) to grow from the stubs.[31]

The Farm Tools

There were a large number of labour-saving and time-saving tools in use in those times. Although they did not possess sophisticated farm implements of the kind of our day, they had ploughing tools, the levelling tools called "*talampu*' the water-balers like '*āmpi*' '*kilār*' and *ēṟṟam* and contrivances like *kulir, tattai* and *kavaṇ* to drive away bird pests. They had mechanical contrivances also to catch boars entering millet fields.[32]

The Cattle

The basic support for farm operations was provided by the cattle. So the people deified them, and treated them with respect. As such, the wealth of the king was measured only in terms of

29. Cilampu—Nāṭukāṇ—lines. 121-124.
30. Naṟṟiṇai—Verse. 351.
31. Padiṟṟuppattu—Verse. 30. line 14.
32. Naṟṟiṇai—Verse. 119.

his cattle wealth. Cattle-rearing was popularly carried out in every home in pastoral country sides with limited water potential. These people sold milk, butter milk, butter, etc., in nearly towns and made money enough to run their homes and also to re-invest for increasing their cattle wealth.[33]

The fish-farming

Fish-farming was as much popular in coastal places (*neital*) as cattle rearing was in pastoral country sides (*mullai*). Fish was popularly accepted by the ancient Tamiḷs; in fact, they used to barter for fish in exchange for a measure of rice. The unsold fish was dried, salted and sold; this process is called '*Meen uṇakkal*'.[34] It should be remembered that women were engaged in selling fish.

The Forest Wealth

There was a regular need to deforest land and reclaim it for purposes of agriculture. This was considered one of the duties of the kings. However, the kings used to identify one species of trees, to call it their guardian tree, and to popularise their cultivation in large numbers.[35] It was in their belief that if those trees flourished, the kings and their subjects would also prosper. Thus, the palmyra tree was the chosen tree of the *Cēra* kings, the *āthi* (*bauhinia recemosa*) tree of the *Çōḷa* kings and the margosa tree of the *Pāṇḍya* kings; they were depicted as wearing the garlands made of the flowers of these trees. Thus the kings encouraged planting of useful trees and their cultivation.

Marketing of Produce

The agricultural produce was bartered for other goods in village markets, and for money in towns. In exchange of rice, fish, salt and milk were sold as per accepted rates of exchange. In cities like Madurai, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, etc., there were separate bazaars known as *kūla vīdhi* for marketing grains and

33. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai—lines. 165–170.
34. Cilampu—Kānalvari. 15.
35. Puṟam—Verse. 57.

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pulses. It is reported that eighteen kinds of grains and pulses were sold there.[36] Information relating to the sale of particular kinds of these grains and pulses was indicated by raising particular banners atop each market centre. The merchants were impartial to the goods of others, tending neither to seek excessive profit for their goods nor to underweigh their goods while selling; thus they proved to be trustworthy.[37] Tax was levied by customs authorities for imported as well as exported goods. The wages of the farm labourers were paid in kind by the farmers.

Role of Women

Women played a role equal, if not greater, to that of men in agriculture. The farm operations like transplantation, weeding, harvesting, winnowing and collecting the grains were done only by women. They used to keep vigil over the millet-fields to drive away bird-pests with tools like *kavaṇ* during day times.[38] The women of the coastal regions (*neital*) engaged themselves in salt-panning, drying and salting the fish, etc., and selling them while the women of the pastoral regions (*mullai*) engaged themselves in rearing cattle and selling milk, butter, etc., in barter. Women who had lost their husbands engaged themselves in hand spinning of cotton.[39]

The Community of Farmers

The Tamils respected their kings as their soul. There is a popular saying in *Śaṅkam* literature which states that 'the soul and life of the state is its king'. The king also believed that it was the result of their righteous rule or misrule that fortunes or misfortunes fell upon their kingdoms. The people believed that only righteous rule of the king assured them of unfailing monsoons and bumper harvests. Although people were by nature hard-working, they carried on their operations with the belief

36. Cilampu—Indira Viḷa—line. 23; Orkaṇ—line. 211.
37. Paṭṭinappālai—lines. 209-210.
38. Kuṟunthokai—Verse. 291.
39. Puṟam—Verse. 125.
40. Thirukkuṟal—Couplet. 560.

that their ends were shaped by forces in nature, and that they should always be upright in their conduct. As such, these righteous producers of food were greatly respected by poets and kings. Thus the farmers enjoyed great social prestige and status in the society.

The age of Pallavas (c. 600 to 900 A.D.)

During the age of Pallava kings, there were more of religious literatures of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cult and so very little agricultural information is present in the literature of this period. However, the inscriptions of this age help us with some information.

The Pallavas ruled over *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*—the northern parts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, after the Śaṅkam age. As they reclaimed forest lands for purposes of agricultural cultivation, they called themselves '*kāḍuveṭṭikaḷ*' (the axe-men of forests).[41] They dug big tanks and ponds and named them after themselves like *Thiraiyan* tank, *Vairamēkan* tank, etc. They established a board of management in these places. They earmarked certain areas of agricultural land, known as '*yēripaṭṭi*' and utilised the income from the land for meeting the annual expenses for the upkeep of the tanks and ponds.[42]

It is also seen that the farmers were keen in utilising the helps extended by the kings in the form of reclaimed lands for cultivation and additional irrigation water for increasing their produce, and in paying tithes to their kings. It is also understood that the systems of renting the land under fixed terms of tenancy and for the same tenants came into existence in due course.[43]

The Pallava kings had the image of a bullock embossed on their coins, which evidently bears testimony for their avowed involvement in agriculture.

41. The History of Tamiḻ Nāḍu—Dr. K. K. Pillay, (1975). p. 115.

42. The History of Tamiḻ Nāḍu (lectures) Kaḻaka Veḷiyīḍu (1962) p. 115.

43. Ѫivu Kottu. K. P. Aṟavāṇan, (1973). p. 15.

The Çoḷa Age (c. 900 to 1300 A.D.)

The great epics of this age like *Peria Purāṇam* and *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* and epigraphical evidences like the monuments provide us a lot of information relating to agricultural development during this age. It was during this age that agricultural land was surveyed and standardised in terms of *muntiri, kāṇi* and *mā*; rules for locating and managing irrigation sources without any wastage were established and systematised.[44] The *Çōḷa* king built dams across the rivers, and named them after themselves in the same way as Pallavas did for tanks. The tank which is presently known as *Ponnēri*, was dug by the king Rajendran I and was named *Çōḷa kaṅkam*.[45]

Although wet-land rice was pre-dominantly grown in *Çōḷa Nāḍu*, they raised other crops like dry-land rice, varaku, rāgi, sesamum and other garden trees like the coconut, the arecanut and the jack tree. They had raised another layer of crops under the canopy of these trees also, as understood from the word, '*keeḷ payir*' used to denote such a practice.[46]

The Age of Nayak Kings (c. 1300 to 1600 A.D.)

A literary piece entitled, *Mukkūḍar Paḷḷu* written some three hundred years ago depicts clearly the state of farmers of that period. At that time the owners of large areas of lands were known as the *nilakiḻārs*, the farm labourers as the *Paṇṇaiyāṭkaḷ* and the tenant-farmers as the *Uḻavars*. These tenants and the farm labourers were considered untouchables. The major share of the produce from the lands belonged to the landlords.[47]

The number of varieties of rice mentioned in this piece is striking and enlightening. The general agricultural traditions of the immediate past were followed during the reign of the Nāyak kings. Whenever the tanks and ponds became depleted of water,

44. The History of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, Dr. K. K. Pillay, p. 113.
45. *Ibid.* 149.
46. Aivu Kottu—Veḷāṇmai (1973) p. 13.
47. Mukkūdaṛpaḷḷu.—Verse. 15.

the right of fishing in these places was auctioned, and the income from such auctions was utilised for deepening the existing tanks, and for digging new tanks and ponds.[48] It was during this period that the farmers gained technical skill in matching soil types and their properties with particular crops which might respond with increased yields.[49]

The Period of the Colonial English

The Mēttūr dam, the Pāpanāsam dam and the Periyāṟu dam are the three dams which served the needs of agricultural development during this period. The big Mēttūr dam is built across the river Cauveri in Salem District, the Pāpanāsam dam across the river Thamiravaruṇi in Thirunelveli district and the Periyaṟu dam across the river Periyāṟu in Kerala, which flows from the Western ghats bordering Madurai District. The water from the Periyāṟu dam is taken by tunnels to irrigate the Cumbum valley and other places in Madurai District.

A special feature of these dams is that they have hydro-electric generating houses for generating electricity. The result is industrial development in addition to accelerated agricultural development. It is only during this period that the use of chemical fertilisers came into existance. Modern scientific plant protection systems also came into vogue during this period.

Conventions

So far, we made an attempt to describe agricultural development historically from Tamiḻ literary works and epigraphical evidences like the monuments, inscriptions and coins. If the practices were found to be useful for all times and acceptable for all locations, people accepted them and followed them as conventions.[50] These conventional practices which are passed on from generation to generation in the form of proverbs and sayings are also important for our purposes.

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48. The History of Nāyaks, A. K. Paranthaman. p. 121.
49. Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟpurāṇam—Nāṭṭuppaḍalam—Verse, 26.
50. Paḻamoḻi Akara Varisai, Kaḻaga Veliyiḍu. Preface—7.

Among the popular proverbs of Tamil Nāḍu those pertaining to agriculture occupy an important place. There are about four thousand agricultural proverbs in a total of about twelve thousand proverbs in currency.[51] These proverbs carry the observations and beliefs of the people relating to agricultural operations and practices. These carry general information relating to properties of soil, selection of farm lands, fencing and farming operations, forecasts on rains, manuring, irrigation, weeding and harvesting, and particular information relating to particular crops. In addition, there are proverbs relating to cattle, marketing of produce, characteristic features of farming and farmers. It may be difficult to state with any certainty when these proverbs originated but it is certain that they have been in currency for ages.

They also carry reflections on the characteristic traits of the farmers, their interests, their progressiveness, their acceptance of new techniques etc.

The land

The buyer farmers preferred only wet-lands (*nancei*) as these lands were assured of irrigation water and so, were sure of responding to the industrious farmers with three good crops per year. But the dry rain-fed lands (*puncei*) could offer only one crop and that too, only if the monsoons did not fail. So people preferred to buy only wet-lands as the proverb goes, "The income from wet-lands is a royal income".

It is well known that fragmentation of cultivable lands and their dispersal over many places are great handicaps for the farmers in carrying out successful farming. It will be to one's advantage if the lands were situated in one and the same place, however small they may be in size. This idea is highlighted in the proverb, 'be they small fingers of lands, (in size) let the fingers be together'.

The lands that are adjacent to way-sides and highways are prone to suffer from several kinds of hardships. So people

51. Ilakkiya Marapu—Dr. M. Varadarajan, (1960) p. 17.

preferred to have their cultivation lands a little farther away from the bustling road-sides. However, if the lands were situated in a distant far-off place, then the farmers would not be able to manage the cultivation of these lands properly. The idea that the land should be neither in the proximity to the highways nor in far-off places is expressed in these two proverbs, 'The field near the roads yields none to the farmer', and 'Choose not either the local bride or the far-off lands'.

The Alkaline Soil

The people had adopted local methods for removing the alkalinity of soils and had found out that the margosa cakes and *piraṇṭai* (*Vitis quadrangularis*) were useful for this. The knowledge is communicated, in these proverbs, 'remove alkalinity with *piraṇṭai* and 'incorporate margosa leaves for alkalinity'.

Matching the crop to the soil

It appears that people had also attempted to cultivate crops according to the properties of the soils, as the following proverbs indicate. 'Rice for the sandy alkaline soils', 'Sow Ragi in dry alkaline lands', 'Sesamum for the black soil', 'Horsegram for the (*puncei*) dry land', 'Raise sugarcane in alkaline soil', 'Plough the alkaline land and grow the groundnut', 'The greengram for the poor soil', 'Turmeric in the black-red loam soil' and 'Tobacco for the dry fields'.

The Rains

There are a large number of sayings on water, the clouds, the thunder, the lightning, the wind and rains. The fact that the monsoons never fail is expressed in the proverbs, 'The dense rains of *Puraṭṭāśi*' (August–September), 'The ceaseless rains of *Aipasi*' (Sep–Oct.) and 'The heavy rains of *Kārtikai*' (Oct–Nov.). The damage caused by unseasonal rains is also described in the proverbs, 'The damaging rains of *Chitrai*' (April–May) and 'The rains of *Pankuni*, (March–April) and allround loss'.

The Seasons

The seasons are important for agricultural operations and such proverbs as '*paruvattē payir cei*' (cultivate in the season

appropriate), 'Sow at the *Auṭipaṭṭam*' (June–July), 'be it a *pālai* (an infertile shallow), do it in the right *paṭṭam*' (season). These proverbs highlight the importance of starting the sowing operatiions at the right season, and also the warning that by sheer laziness one should not fail to carry out the sowing operations at the break of the opportune seasons and rue later.[52]

Ploughing

It is not enough if one possessed just cultivable lands and irrigation water; one has to engage oneself in ploughing the land. The importance of this operation is made clear in the proverbs, '*ēḻuḷavu uḻudāl eṛu pōṭavēṇṭām*' (Seven ploughings placate the need for manures) and '*uḻavilum pakai Yeruvilē tirāthu*' (the unproductiveness of unploughed land no manure could compensate). There is also a proverb, 'Denying the ploughed field of its recuperating time robs the farmer of his capital.' There are proverbs like '*Kampukku kāl uḻavu*' (Plough quarter deep for Rāgi) and 'one plough for horsegram' and 'seven ploughs for sesamum'.

Manuring

The important farm operation that follows the operation of ploughing is manuring. The proverb, 'What the manure does, the soil does not' conveys the importance of manuring even if the soil happened to be good. Another proverb 'The sheep's for the immediate crop and the organics for the next crop', brings out the fact that the droppings of sheep are considered to be in readily usable forms of manure, while cowdung and organic matter become usable manures only for the succeeding crops. That green plants like *āvārai* (a plant, like sesbania) offer phosphatic nutrients and help to grow good grains is expressed in the proverbs, 'the dropping of the sheep for vegetable growth and *āvāral* (*cassia auriculata*) for rice. The proverb, 'the river silt for the crop' informs that those who could not apply organic and other manures were required to apply to the field at least the silt from the river-beds.

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52. Old Sayings and Proverbs, Department of Agriculture, 1939. p. 42.

Weeding

In ancient times, people were more scared of the weeds than insects and fungi. A proverb declares, 'one who weeds not produces not'. The yield of the weed infested crop will be one fourth its normal even if the crop happened to grow vigorously. So it was felt that no time was improper for weeding and that 'pluck out the weed even as it shoots up' has been a popular saying all through. In fact it was understood that weeding should be undertaken even in a harvested field. There is also an old saying which says 'Weed out even if it be harvested field'. From the proverb, '*Kūrai Kuṭiyai Keṭukkum*', (cypress is the bane of farmers) it may be understood how much the people were aware of the severe damages and loss caused by the weeds.

Agronomic Notes

The nature of spacing for particular crops is also indicated in proverbs: '*Eṭṭu aṭi Vāḻai* and *Kamuku*' (Eight feet for banana and arecanut (*Kamuku*)', '*irati Karumpu* and *Kattiri*' (two feet for sugarcane and brinjal) and '*irupataṭi piḷḷai*' (twenty feet for coconuts). In respect of tilling and number of irrigations, there are proverbs like, '*Āru kottu* and *nūru taṇṇīr vāḻai* (for banana till six times and water hundred times) and *Yēḻu Kottu yeḻupatu taṇṇīr Manjaḷ* (for Turmeric, till seven times and water seventy times).

The cattle

The value of cattle in our days of mechanisation appears to be discounted. In ancient times, the wealth of a farm was measured only in terms of cattlewealth.

Farming and the farmer

Farming is an occupation passed on from generation to generation by heredity. It is but natural that the son followed the same foot-steps of his father. And so were the practices of traditional agriculture. The farmers of those days enjoyed great social status and prestige. But in course of time, the bureucracy of modern times has become powerful. Its power is such that there has come into vogue a humorous saying that, The *muṭṭai*

(egg laid by the hen in the house) of a petty official is powerful enough to break the *ammi* (a stone used for powdering and macerating purposes in the pitcher) of a farmer. It is because of this loss of social prestige that agriculture does not enjoy any status in recent times.[53] Further, as the tradition-bound farmers could only follow the time-worn conventions with assurance, they are very slow to take to new technological practices.

Toward the Future

The traditions of a country are what provide the basis for the history of the cultural development of a country. Some of them could have obliterated in time and some forgotten. Such of those which persist proving their value over a period of time should be really great ones; of these timeless traditions which exist with us to-day many of them belong to the field of agriculture. Among these, the most meaningful to-day are those that describe how alkaline soils could be reclaimed and what crops could be grown in these soils. This is only to point out that developments in the agricultural technology of to-day are part of the pastness of the past of Agricultural development in Tamiḻ Nāḍu and also the presentness of its present development. It is this basic continuity that is behind the great achievements in the Agricultural front of our state.

> "Let us respect agriculture and industry
> And ridicule those that vegetate lazily"
>
> —(Bharati)

53. Samuthāya Nōkkil Paḻamoḻikaḷ, Dr. Salai Ilandiraiyan (1975) p. 131.

KAVIMAṆI S. DĒSIKAVINĀYAKAM PIḶḶAI

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Poets are born and not made. This is perfectly true of Kavimaṇi Dēśikavināyakam Piḷḷai, whose birth centenary we are celebrating this year. Dēsikavināyakam, born in Thērūr, a village near Nagercoil, had his early education through Malayāḷam, because then Nagercoil, like the rest of Travancore, was under the rule of the Travancore Raja, and Malayāḷam was the official language of the entire State. But Tamiḻ was his mother tongue and his father himself was an enthusiastic student of Tamiḻ literature. Fortunately when Dēśikavināyakam was quite a boy, he had the opportunity of getting into intimate touch with Sānta-linga Tampirān, the local head of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Mutt at Vāṇantiṭṭu, in the neighbourhood of Thērūr. A genuine lover of Tamiḻ, Sāntalinga Tampirān, was as much an ardent Śaiva devotee as a scholar in Tamiḻ literature. Tampirān was deeply impressed by the poetic talents of Dēsikavināyakam and he encouraged him in the art of composing poems. He induced him first to write some devotional songs on Aḻagamman, the deity of the Thērūr village. This early effort was much appreciated by Tampirān and the elders of the place. This approbation provided an impetus to him for making fresh efforts in composing poems, whenever time permitted.

Though he studied up to the F. A. class of those days, he was compelled to discontinue his formal education, on account of troubles in his family. He evinced a keen interest in the study of English. In fact he became in due course an enthusiastic student of Tamiḻ and English literature. After he discontinued his studies he became a teacher in a Primary school at Kōṭṭār, near his native place, and after serving in several Government schools, he became the Tamiḻ Pandit in the Womens' College at Trivandrum. Fortunately for him the Principal of the College,

Miss. Watts was an enthusiastic lover of English literature and he found in her a discerning literary critic. Frequently they used to exchange views on literary themes. When, after some time, the Department of Education transferred him as a lecturer in Tamiḻ in the Arts College at Trivandrum, he was not inclined to take it up, particularly because he had only two more years to retire officially. Hence he resigned his post and settled down in Puthēri, his wife's native village, which was also near Nagercoil.

It was here that he spent well over a quarter of a century, giving free vent to his poetic fervour, though even during his stay at Trivandrum he had composed numerous poems, including the satirical composition entitled "Marumakkaḷ vaḻi Mānmiyam." Contributed under a pen-name in a series to the Journal 'Tamilian', this piece of realistic satire had as its theme the peculiar customs and institutions of the Marumakkaḷ-vaḻi Veḷḷāḷās, who formed the largest single community of Nāñchilnādu of South Travancore. In fact they have been commonly known as Nāñchilnādu Veḷḷāḷās. Himself a member of the community, he knew the customs and institutions of the people very thoroughly. Therefore he drew a vivid picture which was characterised at once by a sense of realism and humour. The peculiarity of the law of inheritance, the prevalent polygamy, widow marriage as well as early marriage are all picturesquely portrayed. For instance, the life of an imaginary person named by him as Panchakalyāṇi Piḷḷai, who married five wives and brought misery to himself and his wives is portrayed in a realistic and touching vein. Really Dēsikavināyakam proved to be a silent but effective social reformer. When the entire series were published they received wide publicity and acute emotional fervour among the people of the community and among the leaders of the Travancore State. In fact, it led to the introduction of a piece of legislation modifying the peculiar Marumakkaṭṭāyam system of inheritance by which property was not inherited by the members of the male line but by the enactment of a law which abolished the unnatural system. Here is indeed an instance, and a rare one at that, of a poet influencing social legislation.

However, it was during his life of retirement at Puttēri that the bulk of his poetic works appeared. A lovely village, surrounded by paddy fields, and cocoanut groves, with a beautiful tank by its side, Puttēri suited him and his temperament admirably and provided ample scope for him to give a lively expression to his poetic art. His 'Malarum Mālaiyum' (மலரும் மாலையும்) and innumerable smaller poems appeared during this period which may well be described as the golden age of his life.

The privilege of bringing to light the latent talents of Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai belongs to Rasikamaṇi T. K. Chidambaranātha Mudaliār, a born lover of Tamiḻ. Rasikamaṇi had a genuine admiration for Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai's poems. It was through Rasikamaṇi's enthusiasm that the poet's 'Malarum Mālaiyum' was published. This collection of his earlier poems won the approbation of many lovers of Tamiḻ and discerning critics of Tamiḻ literature. The Tamiḻ Sangam of the Madras Presidency honoured the poet by conferring the title of "Kavimaṇi" on 24th December 1940. The illustrious administrator and lover of literature, Rājāji, and the famous writer K. Ahmed Abbas, as well as the great politician and lover of Tamiḻ, R. K. Shanmugham Cheṭṭiyār were among the outstanding visitors to his place. In spite of several ailments which harassed him during the last decade of his life, he welcomed them all most cordially and delighted himself in their company.

The Raja of Cheṭṭināḍ invited him to his place where he spent some days through the persuasion of his friends and admirers in Cheṭṭināḍ. Raja Aṇṇāmalai Cheṭṭiyār honoured him with a Ponnāḍai. When, however, Kavimaṇi was presented with a cheque he elegantly returned it; later the Raja had silver vessels of the same value sent to Kavimaṇi in his village. R. K. Shanmugham Cheṭṭiyār came to Puttēri on behalf of the citizens of Coimbatore on 25th October 1940 and honoured him with a 'Ponnāḍai'. Through contributions in Nāñchilnāḍu and outside Kavimaṇi Nilayams or libraries were constructed in his honour at Thērūr and at Nāgercōil.

Truly cultured, he was an embodiment of humility. He never cared for wealth or fame. His was an outstanding instance of plain living and high thinking. Never in his life was he influenced by petty jealousy and personal rivalry. Among his contemporaries there were poets like Nāmakkal Rāmalingam Piḷḷai, V. P. Subrahmaṇia Mudaliār, Parali S. Nellaiyappa Piḷḷai and quite in the neighbourhood the Ashtāvadāni Seykuttambi Pāvalar. His relations with one and all of them were most cordial and friendly.

It is time we analysed the merits of his poems and the distinctive features of his poetic skill. Simplicity and forthrightness were at once the most outstanding qualities of his poems. Time was when poetry was terse, cumbersome and ornate, though they were themselves products of skill.

But now we find a different outlook; poetry has become democratised and appealing even to the common man.

The simplicity of his language is admirably brought out by another poet, a famous contemporary, Kavigñar Rāmalingam Piḷḷai.

படித்துப் பழகாத பாமர ருக்கும்
    பாடிப் பருகஅதில் சேமமிருக்கும்
ஒடித்துப் பொருள்பிரிக்கும் சந்திகளில்லை
    ஊன்றிப் பதங்கூட்டும் பந்தனமல்ல
காடும் மலையும் அதில் கலைபேசும்
    கடலும் ஞானம்தர அலைவீசும்
பாடும் தேசிகவி நாயகத்தின்
    பழமை பாடிடஎன் நாஉவக்கும்.

One poet admires another and shows how sublimity of thought is couched in enchantingly simple language.

Similarly Veḷḷakāl P. Subrahmaṇia Mudaliār praised him thus:

மற்றைக் கவிகளெல்லாம் வன்கற்கள் போல்வார்இவ்
வொற்றைக் கவிமணியை ஒப்பனென்றோர் வுற்றுக்
கவியரசாம் தேசிக விநாய கத்தைக்
கவிமணியென் றார்கற்றார் கள்.

In fact Kavimaṇi himself has said that genuine poetry comes from within.

உள்ளத் துள்ளது கவிதை—இன்பம்
உருவெடுப்பது கவிதை
தெள்ளத் தெளிந்த தமிழில்—உண்மை
தெரிந்து ரைப்பது கவிதை.

It is evident from this that the poet must be an embodiment of love, truth and clarity.

Kavimaṇi Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai has stated thus in his dialogue with a representative of the All India Radio, Trichy, on 11th April 1951:

"கவிஞர்களுக்குள் பல நூல்களைக் கற்றறிந்த பெரும் புல்வர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். பாடல்களிலும் அந்தப் புலமையைக் காட்டலாம். ஆனால் கவிதையின் சக்திமட்டுந்தான் காணமுடியாது. வெறும் அடைமொழிகளையும், அணிகளையும் அடுக்கிவைத்திருக்கிற செய்யுட்களெல்லாம் ஆடை ஆபரணங்களால் அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்ட பிணங்களேயாம். உயிருள்ள கவிகள் அல்ல. உண்மைக் கவிதையின் உயிர்நாடி அதன் ஒலியிலேயே பேசும்"

But he was a true admirer of great poets like Kamban.

"எத்திக்கும் போற்றும் இராமன் திருக்கதையைத்
தித்திக்கும் செந்தமிழால் செய்தளித்து—நித்தமும்
அம்புவியில் மக்கள் அமுதம் அருந்தவைத்த
கம்பன் கவியே கவி"

His admiration of Bhārati is seen in many of his songs, particularly in his masterpiece.

பாட்டுக் கொருபுலவன் பாரதியடா!—அவன்
பாட்டைப் பண்ணோடொருவன் பாடினனடா!
கேட்டுக் கிறுகிறுத்துப் போனேனேயடா!—அந்தக்
கிறுக்கில் உளறுமொழி பொறுப்பாயடா!

The great emphasis is not on the form but on the inner meaning which appeals to the heart.

உள்ளத் துவகை பொங்கியெழ
உரைகள் சொல்லப் பொருளேறித்
தெள்ளத் தெளிந்த கவியமுதம்
தீயில் வெந்து பொடியாமோ?

He was at his best in his nursery songs for children. As Prof. K. Swāminathan puts it: "Not even Bhārati's most successful 'Pāppā Pāṭṭu' possesses the concrete sensuousness, the clarity, intensity and bell-like chiming of sounds which give to these childern's songs their instantaneous and irresistable appeal to old and young". (மலரும் மாலையும். ப. 316).

In respect of the words he employed he was not a purist. Those which were in common usage were freely handled by him. Examples of words that he used are:

ரயில், வக்கீல், கோர்ட்டு, வோட்டு.

On the positive side he opposed the indulgence in praise of the past glory of the Tamiḻs:

பண்டைத் தமிழர் பழம்பெருமைபாடி இன்னும்
மண்டை யுடைத்து வருந்துவதேன் ?—அண்டும்இக்
காலத்திற் கேற்றகல்வி கற்றுக் கடைப்பிடித்து
ஞாலத்தில் வாழ்ந்திடுவோம் நன்கு.

But he was a real lover of Tamiḻ.

சந்தத்தமிழ் வளர்ப்போம்;
தாய்நாட்டுக்கே உழைப்போம்;
சிந்தை மகிழ்ந்து தினம்.

He was insistent on introducing Tamiḻ as the medium of instruction in all stages in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. Translation of outstanding works in other languages into Tamiḻ was declared by him to be essential.

As mentioned earlier the poet was a social reformer. He condemned caste in unmistakable terms:

சாதி சாதி என்று நிதம், சண்டைபோட்டு மண்டைகளை
மோதி மோதி உடைப்பதொரு மூடச்செயலென் றுணரீரோ ?

He was against the perpetuation of untouchability. He advocated prohibition.

He was not a politician; but he wanted to reform society and instil the virtue of hard and sustained work. This emphasis of his seems to remind us of the well-known twenty point plan of the Indian National Congress.

நெற்றி வியர்வை நிலத்தில்விழ உழைப்போம்
பெற்ற சுதந்திரத்தைப் பேணுவோம்—சுற்றமெனப்
பன்னாட்டு மக்களையும் பாராட்டிப் பாரதமா
நன்னாட்டில் வாழ்வோம் நாம்.

He wanted industries to be developed so that the people will find proper employment. He stressed the need for developing commerce and agriculture.

வாணிகம் செய்வோம்; வயலிற் பயிர்செய்வோம்
காணரிய கைத்தொழிலும் கண்டு செய்வோம்.

He was eager to redeem people from want and misery.

உண்ணும் உணவுக்கு ஏங்காமல்
உடுக்கும் ஆடைக்கு அலையாமல்
பண்ணும் தொழில்கள் பலகாண்போம்
பஞ்சப் பேயைத் துரத்திடுவோம்
அண்ணல் காந்தி வழிபற்றி
அகிலம் புகழ வாழ்ந்திடுவோம்
எண்ணும் அன்பர் உளம்தங்கும்
இறைவா! துணைசெய் தருள்வாயே!

He was a real champion of the poor and of the workers.

கோடி கோடியாக—நீங்கள்
குவித்திடும் லாபம்
வாடும் எம்மக்கள்—உண்ணு
வயிற்றுச் சோறல்லவோ!

He was a convinced Marxist; he proclaimed thus:

பாடு படுபவர்க்கே—இந்தப்
பாரிடம் சொந்தமையா
காடு திருத்திநல்ல—நாடு
காண்ப தவரலவோ?

Most pronounced were his views for the need of banishing poverty:

வாழ வேண்டுமெனில்—தொழில்கள்
வளர வேண்டுமையா!
ஏழை என்றொருவன்—உலகில்
இருக்கலாகா தையா!

Thus Kavimaṇi was a poet of distinction in several ways. His simple language containing advanced views has captured the minds of many Tamilians. But he was not forceful or punjent like Bhārati or Bhāratidāsan. Kavimaṇi was a pacifist. Even his song on V. O. Chidambaram Piḷḷai is not so soul-stirring as one would have expected. Even when he speaks of World War II he concentrates on the sufferings of the common man and the need for establishing peace and brotherhood among all. There is no vigour, much less venom.

Simplicity of expression and soul-stirring appeals constitute his admirable traits. But in respect of flights of imagination and poetic fancy he cannot rank with some of the greatest poets of Tamiḻ Nāḍ. Nevertheless, Kavimaṇi has a well-deserved place among poets of modern times.

It is remarkable that a poet should have also devoted attention to epigraphy; but that feature is conspicuous in the case of Kavimaṇi. He realised that the two have an intimate connection. A knowledge of South Indian history and, for that, a knowledge of the relevant inscriptions are necessary for those who wish to study and handle Tamiḻ literature. Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai's epigraphical and historical researches are not voluminous; but undertaken in the midst of his poetic compositions and official duties, they are considerable.

He evinced an unflinching courage in exposing the errors of professional epigraphists and archaeologists. Faulty readings of even small words would convey totally different meanings. Thus he showed that the epigraphist's reading of 'திருவாடி சோதிக்கு' as 'திருவடி சோதிக்கு' 'பறவைக்கரசு' as 'பறவைக்காசு' are examples of apparently slight errors but really of vital importance. Only those who are well versed in the language and who can read and understand Tamiḻ epigraphs accurately can correct the errors. He showed that Kāraikkōṭṭai (காரைக் கோட்டை) was mistaken by certain Travancore historians as Kāraikkuḍi (காரைக்குடி)'. He drew pointed attention to the fact that there was a fort built by De lanoy near Āralvāymoḻi (ஆரல்வாய் மொழி) (Āramboḻy) and that this fort is known to this day as 'Kōṭṭakkarai'.

An important reinterpretation was made in respect of the Chōḷapuram inscription'. This Chōḷapuram is situated near Nāgercōil. The Epigraphist who published it thought that the inscription belonged to Rājēndra Chōḷa I on the mere ground that the temple where it is found was constructed by the same Rājēndra. But the conclusion drawn is not correct. It is a later inscription and apparently a Pāṇḍya inscription. The key words occurring in this fragmentary inscription are "இடம்பெற வேண்டுமென்று ஐயன் மழவராயன் நமக்குச் சொன்னமையின்". Kavimaṇi examines several South Indian inscriptions where exactly similar references to Maḷavarāyan are found in certain Pāṇḍyan epigraphs. Curiously two of these epigraphs belong to the time of Tiribhuvana Chakravartigaḷ Śri Sundara-Pāṇḍya Dēva I (accn. 1216 A.D.) and two others belong to Śaḍaiyavarman I Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya (1190—1216 A.D.). Thus the Chōḷapuram inscription is not a Chōḷa inscription as was once believed.

While several other inscriptions like those of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya and Ulagamuḷutuḍaiyāḷ Śāsanam have been critically examined by Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai, no theme has received such wide comments as his paper on 'Kāndalūr Sālai', published in the Kerala Society paper, in 1936. It is a well-reasoned investigation. Did 'Kāndaḷūr Sālai', referred to in the inscriptions, specify a port or a feeding place has been the question at issue. Both interpretations have had their supporters. In fact one reference clearly indicates that the Sālai was feeding place. The passage 'காந்தளூர் மரியாதையால் தொண்ணூற்றைவர் சட்டாக்குச் சாலையும் செய்தான் ஸ்ரீ கோக்கருநந்தடக்கன்' occuring in the inscription of the Āy king, Varaguṇa shows that a Vēdic College was founded at Kāndaḷūr. It is important to note that the arrangements made by the Āy king for religious instruction in Pārthivasēkharapuram were on the model of those at Kāndaḷūr Śālai. But the sheet anchor of certain well-known epigraphists is the inscription of Rājādhirāja Dēva which says "வீரபாண்டியன் தலையும், சேரலன் சாலையும், இலங்கையும் தண்டாற்கொண்ட கோவிராஜ கேசரி பன்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாதிராஜ தேவன்" This is obviously a reference to the capture of Śālai. Chēralan Śālai must have been Kāndaḷūr Śālai. Apparently Kāndaḷūr had a port

as well as a temple and the two different references can be explained only this way.

His article on the Nāñchilnāṭṭu Veḷḷāḷās is critical and objective, despite the fact that he himself a member of that community. There is no attempt at boosting the position, prestige and traditions of the community. He is not actuated by communalism or chauvinism. This feature is of great importance for researchers in South Indian history in particular. He discusses the genesis of the name Nāñchilnāḍu and concludes that it indicates a land of paddy fields. The conflicting theories regarding their origin, whether they were Nāirs or Pāṇḍy Veḷḷālar are impartially examined and his conclusion that they were immigrants from Pāṇḍināḍu is advanced and this is quite acceptable.

It is not claimed that he is an outstanding epigraphist or historian of South India comparable to Mr. Venkayya, T. A. Gopinatha Rao or A. S. Ramanatha Aiyer. But it is a rare combination that we find in him of a poet and an epigraphist. As an epigraphist and historian his range was limited, but what he touches he adorns.*

* I have known Kavimaṇi intimately. It was he who inspired me to do research on the Śuchindram temple. What is more, he came and spent with me about five months at Śuchindram studying and examining the epigraphs and sculptures in the temple.

WORKS OF KAVIMAṆĪ DĒSIKAVINĀYAKAM PILLAI

BY

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It was in 1938, that a small book of poems, well-illustrated, and beautifully printed, was published by Pudumai Pathippagam (The Renaissance Publishers), Madras. The book contained beautiful poems under ten heads. The poet was well known and he was Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai, later popularly known as Kavimaṇi (The Gem of Poets). The book has subsequently seen thirteen editions, the last being in 1973. It is really a marvellous achievement for a work of this kind in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The poet was born in 1876 and his Birth Centenary is to be celebrated this year (1976). The poet's father died when he was ten years old and his guardian educated him up to Intermediate class. He then became a trained Teacher and served first in an Elementary School and later in the Training School for Women at Trivandrum. He was a traditional scholar in Tamiḻ, having undergone a rigorous course in Tamiḻ on the traditional lines and so was taken as a lecturer in the Maharajah's College for women at Trivandrum.

It was a blessing in disguise for the poet to be at Trivandrum as he came into contact with scholars like Justice K. G. Sēshaiyer and his nephew K. G. Sankaraiyer, Prof. S. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai and Lakshmana Piḷḷai of musical fame.

The poet even in his early days, besides composing poems and publishing them in the Tamiḻ Journals was contributing research articles occcsionally.

Prof. K. N. Sivarāja Piḷḷai, who was the first Reader in Tamiḻ of the Madras University was his early contemporary and

published a small collection of his poems for the use of the children of Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The first attempt to collect his poems and publish them in a beautifully illustrated volume was a success and this enhanced the prestige of the poet. A comparison of the first published work with the thirteenth edition would show that more than two-thirds of the poems have since been added to the poems that had already appeared in the first edition.

Before making any assessment of the poems in general, a short review of the poems, contained in the first edition, would not be out of place. The first collection contained mostly, translation and adaptations of the popular English poems for children. The collection opens with a poem "Thou has made me endless" from Tagore's 'Gītānjali'. Next comes 'Āsia Jōthi', from Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia'. 'The Child' ('Baby') by Macdonald has been faithfully translated by the poet. "What the bird thought" was a poem from the Nursary Rhymes. Mention may next be made from 'First Grief' appeared as 'Mudhal Thuyaram' (முதல் துயரம்) by Mrs. Hemans. Then comes a free translation of 'The Blind Boy' by Gibbon. A short poem on the 'Mountain and the Squirrel' by Emerson has been presented beautifully in Tamiḻ. Another poem 'Three Things to Remember' by Blake has been presented with ease. Omarkayyam's poems are well known to the English-knowing people through Fitzerald's translation. These couplets have been translated under "Persian Poetic Nectar".

Under the sub title 'Mazhalai mozhi', the 'River' by Goodrich and 'The Tiger' by Blake have been presented. Out of seventy poems contained in the first collection, we have about a dozen poems translated from English and edited for children. The poems would reveal the trend of the foreign influence then in vogue. The first edition has been dedicated by the poet to the girls and boys of Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The enlarged edition of the collected works, published in 1973, contain 1330 verses classified under fourteen major heads.

Although the first edition was mainly intended for children, the later editions were for all scholars in general.

It has already been stated that the poet has spent a major part of his life as a Tamiḻ Pandit. The poems are therefore flawless in diction. Some critics are of the view that Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai's works reveal the powerful and inescapable influence of the national poet Subramaṇia Bhārathi. No doubt, Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai has read and appreciated Bhārathi but Bhārathi's works are remarkable for their wide and revolutionary out-burst while Dēsikavināyakam's poems are subtle in expression. Both have their own individual identities in their expression. If Bhārathi could be compared to a water fall in its many-sided splendour, Dēsikavināyakam could very well be compared to a perennial river in the plains flowing evenly through a beautiful natural scenery. This was apparently so because Bhārathi belongs to the pre-Gandhian Era while Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai belongs to Gandhian and post-Gandhian Era. There is not even a single harsh word to the ear in Dēsikavināyakam's poems. However both Bhārathi and Piḷḷai had the national unity in their out-look.

There are two appreciative articles worth mentioning, one from "T. K. C.". (T. K. Chidambaranātha Mudaliār) in Tamiḻ and the other from Prof. Swāminātban in English and a study of these two articles (they are merely reviews of the first edition) would reveal how the poet has sprung to fame all over Tamiḻ Nāḍu overnight by the publication of the first edition. The poet was till then well-known only to selected scholars.

T. K. Chidambaranātha Mudaliār was a lawyer hailing from Tirunelveli District. He served as a Commissioner under the then Hindu Religious Endowments Board. He was a famous critic of Tamiḻ literature and he has also edited an abridged and revised version of Kamba Rāmāyaṇa in Tamiḻ. His enthusiasim for Tamiḻ literature (both ancient and modern) is unsurpassed. His review of the first edition of the poet's collected works abound in appreciation. He has said in his article 'Kaṇṇāra Kāṇa oru Kavigñar' (appeared in Kalaimagal in 1939 and included in his collected essays published in 1941), that a comparison of the

original English poems and their Tamiḷ renderings by our poet would reveal that the translations look like original poems and in certain respects far excels the sentimental expression contained in the original poems. He has taken the original "Light of Asia" and the translated version "Karuṇaik Kaḍal" and stated that the Tamiḷ poet has far excelled Edwin Arnold in expression and diction. Again, he has compared Blake's 'The Tiger' and its Tamiḷ version 'the Pulikkūdu' of the poet; and stated that the poem, (Tamiḷ version) has enhanced the thought value of William Blake.

Prof. Swāminathan has, while reviewing the work (first edition) in the Hindu dated 29-1-1939, stated that Rao Saheb. S. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai has done a great service to contemporary Tamiḷ literature by collecting and editing the poet's poems which appeared modestly and infrequently in magazines and school Readers. The bulk, the variety and the qualities both of inspiration and technique of these exquisite poems, established Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai's claim to a distinguished place in the long splendid and happily still incomplete role of Tamiḷ poets. In another place in this article, the Professor has stated as follows: "Sri Piḷḷai is wholly averse to bringing about the divorce, which in our opinion is long overdue, between Tamiḷ poetry and music. In fact, the obvious charm both of meaning and emphasis besides in a great many of his poems in the deliberate reinforcing or counter-pointing of the verbal and musical phrases in the Lullaby (No. 26), for example in the "Untouchables" 'Prayer' (No. 99) and in the bereaved mother's lament before Buddha in 'Asia Jōthi', the greater part of effect is due to the tactful blending of word and tune. An element of cleverness and surprise, which might not otherwise fit in to the mood of tenderness, of protest or of sobbing pathos, is carried off by the wonderful fact of the diction and the studied pauses and paces of the music."

So much for the first edition of 1938. Now a review of the enlarged edition of 1973 may be taken up. The poem 'Bhārathiyum Paṭṭikkāṭṭānum' (Bhārathi as appreciated by a village rustic) is the poet's appreciations of Bhārathi. It is in the popular

metre called 'Kaṇṇi'. The village rustic goes to town one day and hears there Bhārathi's poems sung with accompaniments. He is engrossed in the thought content and music of the poems. He then returns to his village and narrates with wonder what all he has seen and heard there. What he has said in the narration is the poet's own thought on Bhārathi. It is a constructive criticism or an appreciation of Bhārathi. The poem concludes as follows: "Can I express all the beauties of the poems? I could do so if the sweetness of cow's milk should be shown by a small measuring vessel".

In this collection also a number of poems intended for children have been included. It would have been useful if a list of Journals in which they had appeared originally, had been given. This enlarged edition contains the poems composed on special occasions like anniversaries, festival occasions and funerals of friends closely connected with the poet. Eaeh of the translations from the 'Light of Asia' and Fitzerald's 'Omarkayyam' have been published separately. And so they were not included in the larger edition of 1973. A satire 'Marumakkaḷ Vazhi Mānmium' (a mock epic on the matriarchal line) was published first in 1917–18 in the 'Tamizhan' and then brought out in a separate volume in 1942. This was an eye-opener to the then Government of Kerala to give redress to the unhappy children of the Kāraṇavans in the household of his own where his sisters' sons alone had a say in the matter of enjoyment of the property. The satire has revealed the sorry state of affairs of the matriarchal line of inheritance. Another collection of poems or lyrics has also been published in a separate volume and this collection got a prize from the Tamiḷ Development Council in 1956. The poems solely intended for children have been published in a separate volume and it received a prize from the Director of Public Instruction, Madras in 1957.

It has already been stated in this article elsewhere that he has also contributed research articles occasionally. They were collected and published in one volume in 1953. His booklet on "Kānthaḷūr Śālai", is a conclusive work on a controversial

subject. He is also an ardent student of archaelogy and has assisted the scholars in deciphering inscriptions.

His services to Tamiḻ literature has been appreciated by the literary associations and institutions like Thiruvāvaḍudhurai Ādhīnam and others. He was asked in 1950 by the Aṇṇāmalai University to be honorary Professor of Tamiḻ but he could not accept it as he was old and did not like to leave his native village in the last years of his life. The poet died on 26th September 1954 at the ripe age of 78 with full of honours and appreciations from the Tamiḻ lovers all over the country.

(A detailed study of the poet's "Life and work" has been the subject of university lecture by this writer which is under print now will be published in three parts shortly).

K. NAMASIVĀYA MUDALIĀR

BY

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Namasivāya is a sacred name to the Saivaites.

Namasivāyar is a sweet name to the thousands of boys and girls, privileged to be taught by that great Pandit. It was my good fortune to be one of those privileged. I was doubly blessed. I knew him both as a teacher and as a gentleman. On the pretext of calling on my class mate, my Pandit's son, Mr. Thaṇigavēl, I gave myself the pleasure of visiting my teacher and enjoying the ever-flowing hospitality of his home called 'Kaḍalagam' situated on the Santhome High Road, next to the residence of the then Maharaja of Mysore.

Like many great men, Namasivāyar had an humble beginning. His father, Rāmaswāmi Mudaliar, was a pial school teacher. It is from him that the smart Namasivāyar learned the rudiments of the three Rs. His mother Akilāṇḍavalli gave birth to this son on 20-2-1876.

At the age of fifteen, he migrated from Kāvērippākkam his native village to Madras, the seat of his life-long service to Tamiḻ. He started his career as an elementary school teacher in Toṇḍaiārpēt, the northern most part of the then Madras City. His thirst for scholarship in Tamiḻ and his will to quench that thirst adequately were so intense that for thirteen long years he walked all the way from Toṇḍaiārpēt to Mylāpore, the then southern most part of Madras to study Tamiḻ. That his teacher, Mahāvidvān. M. Shuṇmugam Piḷḷai, taught Namasivāyar for so long a period, on a part time basis speaks volumes of his unostentatious service to his mother tongue, Tamiḻ.

Having mastered the language and literature of Tamiḻ, he served in the St. Xavier's High School for about four years,

The Northwick Girls High School sought and got his services as its Tamil Pandit. Later on, it was the good fortune of S. P. G. High School, Vepery to enjoy the benefit of his scholarship and service for twelve long years. namely from 1902 to 1914.

It was while teaching Tamil to the boys of this High School that it occurred to Pandit Namasivāyar that a Tamilian should write text books for the children of the elementary stages. Prior to that, the Tamil text books used in our schools were written by foreign scholars.

Pandit Namasivāyar was a pioneer in this field. His text books for standards I to V was designed on sound psychological basis; the vocabulary was graded; the content was appropriate to the particular age group for which it was written. In view of the excellence of these text books, they constituted a real challenge to the monopoly in this trade. No monopolist has ever been realistic enough to adjust gracefully to the grim realities of the changing situations. Attempts were made in vain, to pressurise the Directorate of Public Instruction against approval of Namasivāyar's text books. Then, third degree methods were adopted. The employers were persuaded to give our Pandit notice of termination of service. That too proved abortive. Pandit Namasivāyar was the most beloved of the teachers of that school. The boys protested spontaneously against the threat of losing the services of that friendly and scholarly teacher. It should be said to the credit of the management that they reacted in a true Christian spirit and retained the services of Pandit Namasivāyar.

The year 1914 was a great landmark in World History. It was then that the First World War broke out. Over here, in Madras, a different kind of war broke out. It was a war against cruel deprivation of opportunity for higher education for Indian girls. In the teeth of opposition, the Government started in Madras a separate Girls College, which later came to be called the Q. M. C. College. Recruitment of proper staff for this infant institution for grown up girls was of special concern to the authorities. Pandit Namasivāyar's services were sought for as the first Tamil Pandit of the Q. M. C. College.

A teacher of wide study, soft spoken by nature, courteous to the core, dignified in his bearing, Pandit Namasivāyar became a great success. His writings and services rose to new heights.

Namasivāyar, later on, came over to the Presidency College as the Tamiḻ Pandit. In those days, teachers of modern Indian languages did not enjoy even the status of a lecturer. They were mere Pandits with scales of pay lower than that of the lecturers. But Namasivāyar refused to be a small man. He was the best dressed teacher of that College.

He was the first Tamilian to write Tamiḻ text books for all levels. His books came to be prescribed not only for study in schools but also for Colleges.

He was also a good commentator. His commentories on Āththisūḍi, Vākkuṇḍām, Nalvazhi were received with acclamation. He was equally at home in editing Tholkāppiam–Poruḷathikāram, Iḷampooraṇam, Thaṇigaippurāṇam, Thanjaivāṇan Kōvai, Iṛayanār Kaḷaviyal and Kallāḍam.

It is no exaggeration to say that even in the field of poetry for children, he was a pioneer inspiring many to follow his foot-steps.

Pandit Namasivāyar served the cause of teaching and teachers through the 'Nallāsiriyan' a Tamiḻ monthly which he edited and published for fifteen years.

As he advanced in the teaching world, he also prospered in the material world. Though his salary was small, his income was large, because of the royalties on his text books, which enjoyed great popularity.

This rich Pandit was a generous Pandit. Parsimony he knew not. All sorts of people flocked to his home of solace and succour to the needy.

Over the years, I have experienced and enjoyed the hospitality of many homes. Namasivāyar's 'Kaḍalagam' was unmatched in its spontaneous hospitality. Thirumathi. Sundarammāḷ, the beloved

wife of our Pandit, would never stint anything for their guests. Whatever be the hour of the day, no visitor would ever return from 'Kaḍalagam' without at least light refreshments if not, a square meal.

Pandit Namasivāyar believed that calculative compassion had no place in a good life. His charity, assistance and help were never fenced off by such petty considerations as caste, creed or language. Whoever went to him for help, got it if it was within his means. Nor need one go to him frequently to gain his sympathy and support.

Pandit Namasivāyar was a doyen among the teachers of Tamiḻ; his contacts were varied and numerous; his relationship was cordial even with those that occasionally adopted an attitude of enmity or envy. The result was that he was flooded with requests for recommendations. This Tamiḻ Pandit kept, even in the twenties of this century, a residential telephone so as to be of utmost service to the needy.

I recall now an illuminating incident.

When I took my honours degree in Economics, I learned that the Inspector-General of Local Boards would be recruiting persons to fill up a number of District Panchayat Officers. The then Inspector-General was Mr. Tampoe, I.C.S., a Jaffna Tamilian. I heard that he was an admirer of Thiru. V. Kalyāṇasundaram, the Tamiḻ savant, the patriot, freedom fighter and a pioneer of the Labour movement in India. I knew that Thiru. Vi.Ka. and Pandit Namasivāyar were great friends. So I approached my teacher with a request to use Thiru. Vi.Ka's good offices to secure me one of those posts.

Namasivāyar got ready in a few minutes, took me in his car straight to Thiru. Vi.Ka. Thiru. Vi.Ka. informed my guru that it would be too much to take liberty with Mr. Tampoe, the head of a Department, merely on the basis of a couple of contacts between them. This revealed to me not merely the spontaneity of the help that my guru rendered to innumerable persons but

also the reticence that our national leaders of the previous generation observed.

Pandit Namasivāyar was a staunch Saivaite. The sandal paste dot on his forehead would broadcast that. But he was not a fanatic. His outlook was broad. He had so much respect for other creeds that elders of all creeds and castes looked upto him with respect. He was so catholic in his views that even agnostic literature was not anathema to him.

Pandit Namasivāyar had a peculiar habit. The last ten minutes of his period would be reserved not for the lesson but for general enlightenment. Students could ask questions on varied topics.

One day Mr. Rāmaswāmi Naiḍu, a class mate of mine who later rose to the position of Sheriff and then to the Mayoralty of Madras, accosted our Pandit with a question.

Rāmaswāmy recited a few sentences in good Tamil prose and at the end of it asked the Guru if the arguments contained in those sentences were not acceptable. It was a provocative question meant to wound the religious susceptibility of this pious teacher.

Pandit Namasivāyar did not get provoked. He, on his part, recited a long passage arguing in the same vein. Having done that, he told the class that it was a part of the Tamil rendering of an article by Col. Robert Ingersol, an American Agnostic. He informed the class that the writings of that agnostic was worth reading in original for its beautiful style.

Then he turned to Rāmaswāmi and said:

'Go through Ingersol's book and other such books. Ponder over them calmly and deeply and then come to your own conviction. Belief in any religion is more a matter of personal conviction than of social obligation'.

He referred us to the Connemera Public Library where Ingersol's works were available.

Pandit Namasivāyar was the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Tamil, University of Madras for nearly one and a half decades. It is to this great scholar that the Tamil world is indebted for introducing a Vidwān's course in Tamil exclusively. Prior to that, none can become a Vidwān unless he passed in two languages. It was an unnecessary hurdle to which many a good Tamil scholars were subjected.

It was Namasivāya Mudaliār that introduced for the first time in the early thirties, the system of celebrating the Pongal Day as the Tamil Festival. He would on that occasion bring together on the same platform Tamilian scholars belonging to different creeds to speak on Tirukkural.

From the log house to the White House was indeed a great achievement for the American Society. From the elementary school to the prestigious Presidency College was an equally great achievement for our society of that age.

To sum up, Pandit Namasivāya Mudaliār, the good teacher strove; earned; shared; showered like the monsoonic rains. He showed the future generation that birth is not the last word on our future. Life-long learning, prodigious industry, friendliness towards one and all and selfless service make a man—good man—a great man of a humble birth.

Namasivāyar learned well; taught well; earned well; spent well; lived well. He lived as a real man should. May his life and living be sources of inspiration to us to seek well, strive well and live well.

Professor. K. NAMASIVĀYA MUDALIĀR

BY

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Any one who desired to become a Tamil Pandit in the past had to master not only Tamil but also Sanskrit. This situation which existed prior to 1925 was an impediment to many a serious student of Tamil Literature, as it often happened that he could not possess a knowledge of Sanskrit. So much so people who passed the Vidwān Examination with the mastery of both the languages were few in number. This situation was altered by the efforts of a great Tamilian and scholar Pandit. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār.

His early life and Education :

Pandit. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār was born on 20th February, 1876 in Kāvēripākkam (Kāvidhippākkam), a village in North Ārcot District. Kāvēripākkam is situated on the main road from Kañcipuram to Wāllāja. His father, Mr. Rāmaswāmy Mudaliār, was a Primary School teacher in Kāvērippākkam and his mother was named Ahilāndavalli after the Divine diety Ahilāndēśvari. Young Namasivāyam had his early education under his benevolent father until the age of fifteen. He mastered 'Nanneri', 'Neethineri vilakkam', 'Vivēka cintāmani' etc., under him.

With the early education he received from his father, young Namasivāya Mudaliār came to the city of Madras in the year 1891 in search of a job. He started his career as a school master at Tondaiarpēt. As the son of a dutiful teacher, he had developed a thirst for knowledge and he also wanted to attain high positions in life as he was not satisfied with his humble position as primary school teacher.

Further Education :

Fortune took him to Mahāvidwān. Thiru. Shanmugam Pillai, who was working as a Tamil Pandit at Tondaimandalam High

school, Madras. Mr. Piḷḷai was an erudite scholar in Tamiḻ of that time. Mr. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār received further education from Mr. Piḷḷai. Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār mastered Tamiḻ Language and Literature under the able and expert guidance of Mr. Shaṇmugam Piḷḷai for about twelve years and became a great scholar in Tamiḻ.

The Master and the Disciple :

Mr. Shaṇmugam Piḷḷai, childless as he was, treated Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār as his own son and Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār loved his master with the boundless affection of a son and regarded him as his own father. The attachment between the master and the disciple was so great that the master requested the disciple to perform even his last rites after death as a dutiful son to a father. Mr. Mudaliār fulfilled the last wishes of his beloved master and even looked after his master's wife with the kindness of a son till her last days.[1]

Mr. Namasivāyar as a Teacher :

During his discipleship under Mr. Shaṇmugam Piḷḷai, he gave up his primary school mastership in Toṇḍiarpēt and took up a job at the High Court of Madras during 1895-96. Later, he served as a teacher in the St. Xavier's High school for four years and then in the Northwic Girls' School, Royapuram. His scholarship and ability won the fullest satisfaction of his superiors and admiration of his students. Many an educational institution eagerly aspired to have the services of Mr. K. N. Mudaliār. Then, he was appointed as a Tamiḻ Pandit in the leave vacancy of Mr. V. M. Saḍagōpa Rāmānujāchāriār, in Singler's College, Madras. After completion of his education to the entire satisfaction of his illustrious teacher, Mr. Shaṇmugam Piḷḷai, Mr. Mudaliār became the Head Tamiḻ Panḍit in the S. P. G. High School, Vepēry, Madras and he continued as such during the years 1902 to 1914.

Publication of Text Books :

As Head Tamiḻ Pandit at S. P. G. High School, his genius was recognised by the Principal, Rev. Fr. Potts who gave

1. Kalaikkaḷañchiyam, Vol. VI. p. 294. (1959)

Mr. Mudaliār all encouragement for writing and publishing text books for students in classes one to nine. These books were found to be well graded and highly suitable for the different levels of students. Mr. Mudaliār should be regarded as a pioneer in text book writing for in those days, text book writing for young students was undertaken only by foreigners. So, Mr. Mudaliār had to put up with lot of oppositions from vested interests when he started publishing his own text books. However, Rev. Fr. Potts gave him unstinted support and encouragement all along and Mr. Mudaliār by his sound scholarship and ability proved that anyone who had the competence and aptitude could write text books and they would be accepted if found suitable. Thus, he became a fore-runner in the field of writing text books, an encouraging precedent to many who later followed his foot-steps.

Kamalapandam :

When His Royal Highness, King George V of England visited India in 1911 for his coronation at Delhi, Mr. Mudaliār composed a poem (*Kamalapandam*) and sent it to his Royal Highness with its English Translation. Rev. Fr. Potts helped Mr. Mudaliār in his efforts. Thirty thousand copies of this work were printed and distributed to those who attended the Coronation Ceremony at Delhi. A copy of this publication was also preserved at the India Office, London.

Mr. Mudaliār's marriage :

Mr. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār married in 1906, at his age of thirty, Tmt. Sundarammāl, the beloved daughter of Mr. M. Kēsava Mudaliār. She proved herself to be a duty conscious house-wife who did nothing against the wishes of her husband. All her life, she remained devoted to her beloved husband and his life's mission of literary work.

Mr. Mudaliār's appointment as a Tamil Pandit in the Queen Mary's College :

Queen Mary's College was started in the year 1914 as an institution specially meant for the education of women in Madras State. At that time there was much opposition for starting of such

an institution as it was construed that such an institution would pave the way for educated women competing with men for jobs and thereby depriving men of their chances of employment. The then Director of Public Instruction was looking for a suitable person to teach Tamiḻ in the Queen Mary's College. Rao Bahadur. A. C. Praṇatārtihara Iyer, I. S. O. Inspector of Schools, knew the capabilities of Mr. K. N. Mudaliār as a teacher of Tamiḻ and commended him to the Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Mudaliār was appointed as Tamiḻ Pandit in Queen Mary's College, a premier institution for women. Mr. Mudaliār's excellent work as teacher of Tamiḻ won him the respect of one and all. Infact, Mr. Mudaliār and Miss. D. Delahey were responsible for the growth of this institution at a time when people were sceptical even of its existence.

Mr. Mudaliār's services at the Presidency College:

When Pandit Anantarāma Iyer retired from service, Mr. Mudaliār was appointed as the Head Tamiḻ Pandit in the Presidency College, Madras. There was no post of professorships for languages in colleges in those days. The salary of the Head Tamiḻ Pandit was also meagre. But Mr. Mudaliār brought dignity to his position by his sound scholarship and professional integrity. It was a memorable sight to see the immaculately dressed Mr. Mudaliār coming to the College in his car.

The 'Kaḍalagam' and its fathomless hospitality:

When Mr. Namasivāyar came to Madras as a poor young man in the quest of a job, he had nothing but scholarship with him. As a student of Mr. Shaṇmugam Piḷḷai, he used to walk along the sea shore daily from Toṇḍaiarpēt to Mylāpore. A particular spot at Mylāpore beach was so beautiful, that it attracted Mr. Mudaliār's attention and made him dream of constructing at least a hut for himself there. His dream did not go unfulfilled. When he became a popular writer of text books and earned enough, he constructed a beautiful house at the very spot he had chosen years ago, and he named it 'Kaḍalagam'. This house became a rendezvous for lovers of Tamiḻ and scholars to meet under the hospilality of Mrs. and Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār.

This house came to be known both for its beauty and boundless hospitality.[2] Mr. Mudaliār took special interest in his garden where he cultivated rare flowering plants like '*Vanji*', '*Karanthai*', '*Nochi*', '*Thumbai*' and took special delight in showing them to his scholar friends during their visits to his house.

The Kuṟinji House:

He constructed another house at the Nilgiris and called it the 'Kuṟinji House' as a summer resort, for his scholarly guests. He took his pulavar friends with him whenever he visited the Kuṟinji House. During his stays there he made a study of the land and the people and he later delivered many lectures on Kuṟinji land and its people.

Publication of the Tamiḻ Classics:

Mr. Mudaliār was interested in the publication of good books known for high standards and moral values. He published '*Āttisūḍi*', '*Vākkuṇḍām*' and '*Nalvazhi*'. He is also remembered for the publication of classics like '*Tolkāppiyam*' with the commentary of *Iḷampūraṇar, Tolkāppiyam Eḻuthu (Letters),* and *Sol* (words), *Mūlam* (Text). His publication included '*Thanjaivāṇankōvai*', '*Iṟaiyanār Kaḷaviyal,* and '*Thaṇigaipurāṇam*' (in praise of Lord Muruga at Thiruttaṇi). He also translated Samuel Smiles' book 'Self Help' and published it later under the title 'Than muyaṟchi'.[3]

His prose works:

Besides poetic compositions, he wrote prose pieces, full length dramas and one-act-plays. One of his prose pieces, 'Kaṇṇappan' is known for its simplicity, clarity and purity of style.[4] He is the first Tamiḻ Scholar to use the technique of 'Debate' in prose works.[5]

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2. Tamiḻ Pulavar Varisai, Vol. VII. p. 53.
3. Published in 1930.
4. Matriculation Examination Text Book, 1936.
5. Matriculation Examination Text Book, 1937. 'Nāṭṭkku Nanmai viḷaivippavan śelavāḷiyā? śikkanakkāraṇa?'

His prose works form an important stage in development of Tamil prose, and as such he deserves a special mention in the history of Tamil Prose. He is also responsible for the publication of Tamil Literary Reading Series (One Anna Library Series) for the propagation of popular Tamil literary works among the Tamil people. 'Kuchēlan', 'Harichandran', 'Nalan', 'Kambar and Chōlar', 'Kaṇṇappan' are some of them.

His one-Act Plays and ideals for social reforms:

His 'Nāḍaga Mañjari', a collection of ten one-Act Plays was written specially for students. 'Gowri', his One-Act play is known for its revolutionary theme and ideals of social reform. It is the story of a young man Selvamuthu who refuses to marry Gowri, the daughter of his aunt much to the chagrin of his father. Instead he falls in love with a farmer's daughter, Pārvathi and undergoes suffering and dies later leaving his wife and son, unreconciled with his father who was estranged as a result of his marriage with Pārvathi. Gowri brings about a reunion of the family by making Selvamuthu's father to accept Pārvati and her son. It is remarkable to note that Mr. Mudaliār expressed such advanced views in social reformation at an early period as 1919.[6]

His poetical works:

He wrote '*Āluḍaiya Pillai Arputhak Kōvai*', '*Thaṇigaith Thavappayan Malar*', '*Thaṇgai Singāra Sadagam*' and other poems. Mr. Mudaliār's "A Gentleman Knows His Limitations", ('Kuṇavān Than Kuṟṟam Uṇarvān') is a pleasant poem. The '*Idioteia* knew the value of education', ('Kayavan Kalvi Arumai Aṟintatu') is another poem full of humour. The description of the Himalayas in his article 'Imaya Malai', stands as a beautiful piece of poetry and this is given as a prelude to his prose work on "Himalayas".[7]

His Dramatic Works:

Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār's dramas '*Keechakan*' or They stoop to Conquer and '*Prithivirājan*', are exemplifications of dramatic

6. Matriculation Examination Text Book, 1919.
7. Matriculation Examination Text Book, 1937.

art in the light of Western criticism. They testify to the effect that he is a great play-wright. His delineation of characters reminds us of Sheridan and Shakespeare. His villains are like the villains of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott. Dr. A. Chidambaranātha Chettiār has made a special study of '*Keechakan*' and published a research article on the same. According to Mr. A. C. Praṇatārtihara Iyer, "*Keechakan* in a dramatised form is an instance of this kind. The scenes are well arranged, the situations grow one out of the other, the characters maintain each his or her own individuality. Keechakan is a villain but the author has made him a villain of the type of Shakespear's and Sir Walter Scott's villains. He has his instincts of good nature and notions of rectitude of conduct but is hurried to his ruin by his all devouring passion. The story is told in the author's usual simple and clear style".[8]

Mr. L. D. Swāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, M.A., B.L., LL.B., F.M,U., who speaks in praise of Mr. Mudaliār's play 'Prithvirājan', says, "The mistake made by the Tamiḻ Pandits of an older day was to clothe the new world ideas in an ancient world language, producing the bizarre effect of a Latin Ode on the Aeroplane. The present day school of Tamiḻ authors aims on the other hand at producing a language that shall be a fitting organ, a living and breathing expression of the ever expanding ideas of the modern world and shall keep pace with them even as the human body keeps pace in growth with its informing mind. Such evenness of development is really the merit, as it is the aim of the new school of vernacular literature and it behoves everyone interested in the growth of the nation's literature to welcome the new effort. That Mr. Namasivāya Mudaliār has been successful in his previous Tamiḻ productions is an augury of success for the movement which he represents."[9] This play was prescribed as Non-detailed Text for S.S.L.C. Public Examination in the year 1910.

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8. Introduction to Keechakan Drama. (The Coxton Press), 1915.
9. Introduction to the drama, 'Prithvirājan', (C. Kumāraswāmy Nāiḍu & Sons), 1931.

Publication of *Janavinōdini*:

Mr. Mudaliār edited and published later in his life time, '*Janavinōdini*', a monthly, which was published originally during 1870–1890, as he found the essays of this periodical were to be of immense interest to scholars, especially to teachers of elementary and secondary schools. In these publications he maintained the original spelling and construction of sentences even though they were obsolete and faulty as they were of great use to later research scholars.[10] He was not in possession of all the issues of this monthly. He advertised for the loan of earlier issues which were not in his possession, promising the public suitable rewards if they would not mind rewards in terms of money.

Pothigai Nigaṇḍu:

He was also of special help to Professor S. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai, B.A.,B.L., in providing him with a manuscript copy '*Pothigai Nigaṇḍu*' for which Mr. Piḷḷai makes kind and grateful reference in his book 'Ilakkiya Maṇi Mālai'.[11]

Examiner and as Chairman of Board of Studies' Tamiḻ:

He was appointed as an Assistant Examiner for S.S.L.C. Public Examination in 1910. In 1917 he was appointed as Chief Examiner for Tamiḻ in the University of Madras. Mr. Mudaliār was a Member of the Board of Studies, Tamiḻ in 1918 when Mr. Anavaradavināyagam Phiḷḷai was the Chairman of the Board. When Mr. Anavaradavināyagam Piḷḷai left on an official assignment to Ceylon, Mr. Mudaliār took up the Chairmanship of the Board of Studies, Tamiḻ in the University of Madras from 1920 to 1934. He was a member of the Examination Board constituted for the purpose of setting question papers and for the conduct of examinations in 1922.[12]

As Chairman of the Board of Studies, Tamiḻ, he made historic changes in the University Rules and Regulations so as to enable

10. Janavinōdini Vol. IV Part I, 1946. Preface by Mr. Mudaliār.
11. S. Vaiyapuri Piḷḷai's 'Ilakkiya Maṇi Mālai' II Edition, pp. 175, 217 and 220.
12. Annual Report for the year 1922, University of Madras.

Tamil Students to get Pandit's Diploma specialising only in Tamil Language and Literature, without the compulsion to specialise in Sanskrit or any other language. This was a boon to many a student of Tamil as they could never get the title of Vidvān without an attainment in Sanskrit or another language, previously.

Thus Mr. Mudaliār paved the way for the coming up of a new generation of Tamil scholars with Vidvān title. This was a right step taken in the right direction by Mr. Mudaliār despite much opposition to him from different quarters. Now we realise that he was right and his opponents were wrong. He also worked for the legitimate place of Tamil in Colleges.

Editor and publisher:

He was the author, editor and publisher of a monthly magazine called '*Nallāsiriyan*' (The Good Teacher) published continuously for fifteen years. Thus he did yeoman service to the cause of teachers in an age when running of a journal was a rare thing.

His large heartedness:

Though a Tamil Scholar, he was good in English too. He had read a number of works in English. He was deeply religious but he had nothing against people of other religions. He had friends among the atheists too. He won the respect and regard of anyone with whom he came across. Doors of his house were always open for visitors. He was polite and courteous to one and all. He helped the needy with money and kind introductions to others who would help them. In doing good even to enemies, he was Christ-like. A Headmaster of a Secondary School in Tirunelveli once turned down the request of Mr. Mudaliār to prescribe his Text Books for use in the school. But when the same Headmaster approached him for a help, Mr. Mudaiiār had no reservations in helping him magnanimously.[13]

Poṅgal and Thiruvalluvar Festivals:

Mr. Mudaliār was responsible for the first "*Poṅgal*" Day Celebrations" in Tamil Naḍu and is also remembered for arranging

13. Nuṇ Porul Malar—Vidwān Veṅkatarājulu Reḍḍiar, p. 22.

a function in honour of Thiruvaḷḷuvar. These two celebrations have been taken up by posterity with gratitude to the man who designed these celebrations in Tamiḻ Nāḍu at an early period when people had not thought of such celebrations. Infact, he was the first to start the custom of sending greetings at the time of *Poṅgal*.[14]

Help to the Poor and the needy:

He was a man of philanthropic nature. He spent money for every good cause and never failed in helping the poor and the needy. He was a lover of all religions. He had no caste reservations in his heart. His students loved him very much. He used to devote the last few minutes of his class for general discussions and answering pupils' questions.[15] Many students and teachers received kind and timely help from him.

His sixtieth Birth Day Celebrations:

His sixtieth birth day celebrations took place in 1936. Tamiḻ Scholars like N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar, Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, G. Vadivelu Chettiar, R. Raghava Iyengar, Thiru-Vi-Ka, Maraimalai Adigal, Somasundara Bharathi, Venkatarajulu Reddiar, Varadarajulu Naidu, R. P. Sethu Piḷḷai, Prof. T. P. Meenakshi sundaram and others have written in praise of Mr. K. Namasivāya Mudaliār.[16]

A fitting Birth Centenary:

Mr. Mudaliār came to Madras as an obscure young man, but he soon made a great name in the history of Tamiḻ Literature by sheer hard work and outstanding ability. He has made a remarkable contribution to the Tamiḻ Language and Literature and to the Tamiḻ People. In his passing away at the age of 61 in 1937, we lost a great philanthropist, an erudite scholar, a gentleman, a self-made man, a great teacher of teachers, a poet, an essayist, a dramatist, a publisher, an editor, a translator, a good research scholar and more than all a true representative of Tamiḻ culture. He will be remembered as a pioneer of Tamiḻ studies by every student of Tamiḻ Language. It is fitting that we are celebrating the year 1976 as the birth centenary of this great Tamiḻ savant.

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14. Interview with Mr. Siruvai. Mohanasundaram.

15. Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu, M.A.,L.T., Former Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, "Tamiḻ Gnayiru Namasivāyar", Tamiḻarasu (16—3—1976).

16. Nuṉ Poruḷ Malar, (The Jupiter Press), Madras, 1936.

REPORTS OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 4 P.M. on 24th September 1975 in Room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings on "Recent Archaeological Investigations and Tamil Culture" led by Dr. S. Gurumurthy, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology. University of Madras. The following is a Report of the Proceedings of the seminar.

Present

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (OXON.) in the Chair.

Dr. S. Gurumurthy, Leader.

An audience of about 50 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced Dr. Gurumurthy and requested him to lead the seminar.

Dr. S. Gurumurthy: Archaeology is a young Science in India and archaeological studies and researches received greater attention only very recently i.e. after the independence. Scientific excavations were conducted for the first time in South India only-that too in Arikāmēdu in 1944-45 by Dr. Wheeler. Since then numerous sites have been excavated in Tamiḻ Nāḍu representing old Stone Age cultures and the culture of the Early historic period. At the same time we should not forget the yeomen service rendered by a few westerners like Alexander Rea who excavated the famous site Ādichchanallūr in Tirunelveli district, Anglade who explored the Palani hills and Caldwell who explored the region around Kāyal in Tirunelveli district. But their excavations were done without any scientific principles like applying stratigraphic rules, recording the antiquities etc. Antiquities were collected without any reference to their stratigraphical context, associate finds etc. Hence the excavators were not able to suggest any dating to those finds. Therefore many problems in South Indian archaeology remained unsolved. The excavators were not able to

offer any convincing argument or concrete evidence to date the antiquities and the cultural sequence. They were also not able to distinguish different cultures.

The excavations at Arikāmēdu, an Indo-Roman site, in 1945 by wheeler had heralded a new era in Indian Archaeology. Methods were evolved to distinguish the different cultures and to date the objects tentatively. Arikāmēdu excavations have stimulated the archaeological activities in the South and particularly in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

Tamiḻ Nāḍu is a paradise for archaeologists as the country was not exposed to any serious foreign invasions. Further, many of the ancient sites remain undisturbed and archaeological excavations in those sites would definitely yield a clear cut picture of the different cultures that existed. Though Tamiḻ Nāḍu is archaeologicaly rich, that richness has not yet been realised and brought to the attention of the people in the outside world.

If you have a glance at any of the ancient Indian history books, you will notice that only a few pages have been devoted to Tamiḻ Nāḍu and its culture. Even the meagre information about the cultural history of Tamiḻ Nāḍu portrayed in such books may not be upto date. It is also sad to note that the latest books on the Early History of Tamiḻ Nāḍu do not contain the information supplied by the spade work. It may also be mentioned in this connection that there is not even a single book written so far dealing with the Archaeology of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. Therefore historians and archaeologists in India and in other parts of the world may not be able to appreciate the contribution of Tamiḻ Nāḍu to world pre-historic cultures. They are not able to allot Tamiḻ Nāḍu its due place on the map of pre-historic world. Therefore the utmost need of this hour is to write an uptodate book on the "Pre-history of Tamiḻ Nāḍu". In other words "the personality of Tamiḻ Nāḍu" (from the very beginning upto the beginning of the Christian era) has to be brought out as Dr. Wheeler has written "the personality of England" and Dr. Subba Rao, the "Personality of India".

Archaeological excavations have been conducted in more than 15 sites in Tamiḻ Nāḍu till recently. These sites cover from the Old Stone Age to the Sangam Age cultures. Recently archaeological explorations have been also conducted intensively and extensively in some districts like Tiruchirappalli and Tanjavūr. The following is the culture-wise break up of the sites:—

Site	*Dist.*	*Culture/age*
Attirampākkam Vaḍamadurai Sriperumbudūr Nampākkam Erumaivettippāḷayam Gudium	Chingleput	Old stone age to middle stone age.
Sāwyerpuram	Tirunelvēli	Late stone age.
Paiyampaḷḷi	North Arcot	New stone age.
Tirukkāmpuliyur Alagarai Uṛaiyūr Karūr	Tiruchirapaḷḷi	Iron age and Early historic period.
Koṛkai	Tirunelvēli	Iron age
Kāñchipuram	Chingleput	Iron age and Early Historic period.
Pērur	Coimbatore	Iron age and Early Historic period.
Sengamēdu Nathamēdu	South Arcot	Iron age and Early Historic period.
Arikāmēdu	Pondicherry	Iron age and Early Historic period.

Besides the above mentioned sites, a few burials have also been exposed in sites like Sānūr, Amirthamangalam and Kuṉṛattūr in the Chingleput district.

The above break-up suggests that very little archaeological work has been done in Tamiḻ Nāḍu and particularly more Stone Age sites have to be excavated. Yet another point is that the reports on the excavations have not yet been published the

exception being, the report on "the Lower Kāvēri Valley Excavations" brought out by the Madras University. Therefore I have made an attempt in this paper to place before you what we have unearthed so far and what light they throw on the material culture of the ancients.

The cultural sequence in Tamiḻ Nāḍu goes as follows:

Old Stone Age.

Middle Stone Age.

Late Stone Age or Microlithic Age.

New Stone Age or Neolithic-Chalcolithic Age.

Iron Age or Megalithic Age.

Early Historic period or Sangam Age.

However, the above cultural divisions or cultures have not been found in one single site. They have not been found in succession to one another in any of the sites just referred to. Hence we are not able to tell much about the evolution of these cultures from the beginning.

Old and Middle stone Ages:

The old and Middle Stone Age industries have been discovered in and around Attirampākkam, Vaḍamadurai, Sriperumbudūr and a number of sites in the Koṟṟalaiyār Valley near Red hills area. There are four huge river terraces which contain these stone implements. Among the sites, Attirampākkam and its surroundings attract pre-historians from the different parts of the world. The whole area is strewn with stone implements like bifacial hand-axes, cleavers, scrapers, borers etc. Attirampākkam seems to have served as a 'Factory Site' to the Stone Age men in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. The hand axes from the site are internationally known as "Madras hand-axes". These hand-axes are noted for their workmanship as their both faces have been worked out. Hence they are sometimes called 'bifacial hand-axes'. These implements are considered to be far more superior than those collected from the Soan river valley in the North.

These industries, their technique and typology have been thoroughly studied. There is a close resemblance between these

industries and those from South Africa. That means the Old Stone Age men of Tamiḻ Nāḍu had developed some contacts with his counterpart in South Africa. But how the contacts were established and maintained remains a problem. However, it may be suggested that migration of people could have taken place during the period. South Africa and South India seem to have been conneeted most probably by land in those days. Later it seems that the intervening regions were submerged into the sea. This reminds us of the existence of the Lemuria continent some two lakhs years ago. This was all due to the climatic conditions during the Stone Age, and that too, some two lakhs years ago. But much cannot be said about this phenomenon as it happened in the dim past.

There are about 14 natural rock shelters discovered in the Koṟṟalaiyār region. These caves were occupied by the pre-historic men as the excavations within a cave floor in Guḍium (near Attirampākkam) revealed habitational deposits containing Stone implements. But no paintings have been noticed in these caves.

Late Stone Age:

Coming to the Microlithic Age, again Tamiḻ Nāḍu possesses unique features which proclaim a very deep antiquity for this culture. The microlithic industries have been appreciably noticed in places like Sāwyerpuram and its vicinity in Tirunelvēli district. The microliths were collected from the age old sand dunes in the district. They are locally called '*teris*' and the industries are better known as '*teri* industries'. The *teri* pigmy implements are considered to be the oldest and the prepottery microlithic industries in India and generally not reported from North India. But they occur in Ceylon. The 'teris' or sand dunes are considered to possess deep antiquity according to the geologists. That means, the region comprising the southernmost districts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu may be the oldest part and is datable to 10,000 B.C. according to Dr. Sankalia. This again lends colour to the theory of the existence of the Lemuria continent or *Kumarikkaṇḍam*. He dates the sand dunes from 10,000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. Dr. Zeuner and Allchin who studied the *teri* industries dated them roughly to 4000 B.C. The true microlithic culture

seems to have existed in Tamiḻ Nāḍu upto 2500–2000 B.C. as evidenced from the excavations at Utnur and Paiyampaḷḷi. In the latter site, the pure neolithic age begins at about 2000 B.C.

The microlithic industries in other parts of India, particularly in North India are late. This largely leads us to believe that the microlithic man in India first made his appearance in Tirunelvēli region and moved towards further south and occupied the land between the tip of southern India and Ceylon (including Ceylon). It should be mentioned in this connection that very recently microliths similar to the *teri* industries have been discovered in the Tanjāvūr district by the State Department of Archaeology, Tamiḻ Nāḍu. They are under study by experts.

New Stone Age:

The Neolithic age of Tamiḻ Nāḍu has had a chequered history and therefore its importance has not yet been realised. It is Dr. Wheeler, who in 1945, established the existence of a neolithic culture in India and that too after the excavations at Brahmagiri in Mysore in the south. Dr. Wheeler was followed by Thaper at Maski in Mysore and a number of excavations have been undertaken in the Karnātaka region till recently. These excavations have carved out a place for Karnātaka country in the Proto-historic map of India. Its neolithic-chalcolithic culture has attained international importance thanks to the sustained work by eminent archaeoligists from the Deccan College at Poona.

But in Tamiḻ Nāḍu it is sad to point out that only one neolithic site has been excavated so far, the site being Paiyampaḷḷi in North Arcot district. The report on the excavations has also not come out. However, Paiyampaḷḷi has revealed some interesting information relating to the neolithic pattern of South India. According to S. R. Rao, the excavator of Paiyampaḷḷi, there is a pure neolithic culture existed at Paiyampaḷḷi. This culture was not originally influenced by the Central Indian chalcolithic cultural traits like painted pottery and parallel sided blades. Later they intruded into the site mingled with the Paiyampaḷḷi neolithic culture.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the South Indian neolithic culture is distinguished by the polished stone celts or axes and burnished grey ware with or without paintings. Metals like copper and bronze were sparingly used. But in Central and North India, these traits are not traceable—and there was no pure neolithic culture as such, instead, a chalcolithic culture was predominently noticed—characterised by the use of profuse quantity of painted red ware, copper tools and copper objects—The South Indian polished axes and grey ware are absent.

But, in certain areas, traits belonging to both cultures have been found—particularly at Nevasa in Maharashtra. Nevasa is considered as the northern most point where the central Indian chalcolithic culture and the South Indian neolithic culture clashed. Beyond Nevasa also the neolithic grey ware has been found in places like Panduraja dhibi (West Bengal), Chirand (Bihar-1755 B.C.), Eran (Madhya Pradēsh).

Similarly, Paiyampaḷḷi may be considered as the southern most point where the central Indian Chalcolithic culture has penetrated. But its arrival at this place may be slightly later than in Karnātaka region. Beyond Paiyampaḷḷi neolithic sites have not yet been located.

The foregoing facts suggest that Tamiḻ Nāḍu during neolithic period had developed its own material culture and stone equipment which had travelled to many regions in the north. It is worth mentioning at this juncture that in the excavations at Burzahom, Srinagar Dist. in Kāshmir, the polished axes and grey ware have been found and the Kāshmir neolithic culture is similar to the one in South India. The intervening region does not offer any clues to connect these two regions lying in the two extreme points. However, it may be suggested that the neolithic people of South India were spread over a vast area in South India as well as in some regions in North India. At a later stage, they came into contact with the Chalcolithic people of central India and absorbed their cultural equipment such as parallel sided blades, painted red ware etc. The rate of absorption becomes very low when one moves towards south from the Gōdāvari Delta. In Tamiḻ Nāḍu,

the north-western districts like North Arcot, Salem and Dharmapuri seem to have retained the original, pure neolithic culture of South India in the beginning and at a later stage, the Central Indian chalcolithic influences penetrated into this area from the southern Karnātaka region. The northern Karnātaka was the worst affected as it was exposed to the Central Indian Chalcolithic region. In Tamiḻ Nāḍu, it seems that the Central Indian chalcolithic influences reached very late and could not penetrate into the native culture. It seems that those influences thinned away and lost their identity. When they reached Tamiḻ Nāḍu they could not move further south as no Chalcolithic painted ware has been reported from that area.

The neolithic pattern of Tamiḻ Nāḍu poses a big question i.e. it is confined only to the north-western districts, bordering the southern Karnātaka region. What happened in other parts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu during this period? This problem has not been touched upon by any of the contemporary archaeoligists. The neolithic culture of Paiyampaḷḷi has been dated to c. 2000 B.C. During the 2nd Millennium B.C. larger areas in Tamiḻ Nāḍu were not occupied by the neolithic people will be the answer, supplied by the spade work. Because, the archaeoligical excavations conducted in the southern districts so far had revealed the earliest culture being the Iron Age culture. The bottommost layers in the excavated trenches contain only the Iron Age cultural traits such as Iron objects, black and red ware, glass beads etc. The earliest occupants in these areas are the Iron Age people. The beginning of Iron Age in Tamiḻ Nāḍu is at present dated roughly to c. 500 B.C. This implies that between 2000 B.C. and 500 B. C. these areas were left unoccupied. This may be one of the explanations offered.

But I would like to view this point from a different angle. I do not think that the southern districts were not occupied by any people during the 2nd Millennium B.C. It may be admitted that the neolithic population of Tamiḻ Nāḍu was very low as there are only a few pockets of the neolithic culture have been located. They were not spread widely all over Tamiḻ Nāḍu. But at the

same time, we have to admit that not much field work has been done in the southern districts with a view to locate the pre-historic cultures. (I mean palaeolithic and neolithic cultures). Much concentration is focussed only on sites of Early historic period. If extensive explorations are undertaken, we may definitely come across neolithic sites in these areas. To cite an instance, very recently the activities of the neolithic man have been noticed near Viruddhāchalam in South Arcot district.

But archaeologists would not accept that the lack of intensive field work may not be a major cause for the absence of neolithic culture in these areas. They may argue that the neolithic culture did not exist in these areas as the earliest culture revealed by excavations being the Iron Age. If we accept this theory then it goes without saying that till 5th century B.C. the major areas in Tamiḻ Nāḍu were not inhabited. But this may not be possible for two reasons—Firstly, the chronology of Iron Age or the beginning of Iron Age may be taken back atleast to the 1st millennium B.C. The study of pottery types coupled with certain carbon 14 dates available for some sites like Koṛkai, Tirukkāmpuliyūr etc. lends colour to this fact. Further, the megalithic burial-cum-painted pottery from Coimbatore region bears some resemblance to the painted pottery from Iran where it is dated to the last quarter of the 2nd Millennium B.C. There are a few more points which favour the dating given above. I shall deal with this problem while disussing the chronology of Iron Age later.

The second point is that the area around Tirunelvēli district seems to possess a culture sequence suggesting a transition from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age as the pottery types like hand made spouted bowls of black-and-red ware from Koṛkai and Ādichchanallūr bear close resemblance to the chalcolithic pottery of central India and Indus valley. The numerous bronze objects from Ādichchanallūr burials further suggest that the site may have some pre-Iron Age culture sequence. This can be established only after conducting fresh excavation at Ādichchanallūr. The transition from the Chalcolithic to Iron Age might have taken place somewhere around 1000 B.C. Yet another point is that the white

painted black-and-red ware, and all black ware dated to 1800 B.C. at Ahar and other places in the North have been also reported from Madurai, Ādichchanallūr, Koṛkai and Uṛaiyūr in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. This pottery was found in association with the copper and bronze age cultures in North India and also with plain black-and-red ware similar to the one found all over Tamiḻ Nāḍu during the Iron age.

In the light of the above facts it may be suggested that there existed a sophisticated pre-Iron age culture in Tamiḻ Nāḍu atleast in the southern districts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu which may be equated with the central India chalcolithic phase datable to the last quarter of 2nd Millennium B.C. But the development was not uniformly felt.

The relations between the Paiyampaḷḷi neolithic culture and the pre-Iron Age phase in the southern district have to be established. This is a very difficult problem which needs fresh study of Iron Age sites. Further, the origin and antiquity of Iron Age culture has to be thoroughly thrashed out—which can alone fill up the gap between the neolithic and Iron age cultures in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

Indus Valley Culture:

The Indus valley culture has attracted world wide attention recently as the letters and symbols scratched on the numerous seals have been now variously interpreted as constituting some script. Scholars have now made enthusiastic approach to decipher the so called Indus script. According to one group of scholars, the authors of the Indus Valley culture were Aryans and auother group feels that the authors were Dravidians.

It has been recently suggested by a band of Scandinavian scholars that the authors of the culture are Dravidians. They are said to have deciphered the script with the help of the Dravidian languages. Mr. Iravathan Mahadevan has been also working to establish the theory propounded by the above scholars.

But I do not want to deal with the problem relating to the decipherment of the Indus script. I know very well that I could

not throw any new light on this subject. However, the recent archaeological excavations in South India and particularly in Tamil̤ Nāḍu have brought to surface enough material to link the Indus culture with that of the Dravidians or Tamil̤s.

I wholly rely upon the excavated finds collected from Tamil̤ Nāḍu. I feel that my readings will be of some use to those who are engaged to find out a solution to the authorship of the Indus culture. My findings will be in support of the theory that the Dravidians are the authors of the Indus culture.

The Harappa and Mohenjo-daro civilisation extended from Baluchistan in South Gujarath. A dozen sites are also located in Rajasthan. The Harappa culture survived in Gujarath for nearly 300 years after it ended at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. This phase of survival is called the Late Harappan culture (1900—1600 B.C.) to distinguish it from the mature Harappan culture (2500—1900 B.C.). This date was based on C-14 dates and evidences of contact with Sumer (ancient Iraq) in 2350 B.C. The Indus script has also survived in Gujarath (at Lothal).

Vestiges of the Late Harappan culture have also been noticed in Andhra Pradesh recently in the form of painted pottery etc. The Indus seals with the script are not found in South India so far. But on that account alone we cannot altogether set aside the fact that Indus valley people had nothing to do with South India or the Harappa culture had not reached the south. As mentioned earlier, the Indus script would have fallen into disuse while the Indus people moved towards the south of Gujarath. Secondly, as centuries rolled new development and discoveries took place everywhere including South India—For instance, the Painted Grey Ware culture was in its full swing in northern India and the chalcolithic cultures in central India and Iron using communities in the southern most areas i.e. Tamil̤ Nāḍu. Therefore, the Indus people could have come into contact or conflict with the people of the first two regions and lastly settled down in South India. They seemed to have completely identified themselves with the Iron using communities in South India.

This theory may not convince many scholars as they may demand concrete evidences. The following are the clues picked out from the study of the archaeological finds from recent excavations conducted in Tamiḻ Nāḍu which recall the Indus valley culture. The clues are in the form of certain antiquities and structural remains which are common to the Harappa culture and the Iron Age culture of South India. They are as follows:

1. Urn burial and urns with graffiti marks:—The urn burial is as old as Neolithic period in South India. Urns with graffiti marks form part of the Iron Age culture. They even serve as criteria to distinguish the South Indian Iron Age burials (or megalithic burials). Urn burials were also practised by the Harappans. These urns also bear graffiti. Secondly, pit burial with grave goods and stone appendage was also not unknown to them. The excavations at the Harappan site Surkotada in Kutch have revealed this information. Grave goods in the form of small pots and vessels have been collected. But no iron was found. (In South Indian megalithic burials these grave goods are a common feature).

2. Black-and-red ware is the chief ceramic industry of the Iron Age communities in the South. This pottery has been collected from Harappan sites like Lothal, Rupar, Amri etc. In these sites the pottery forms part of the cultural equipment of the Harappans.

3. There are certain pottery shapes common to both cultures. They are (1) multiple pot (found at Yelleswaram in Andhra, Uṟaiyūr in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi district and Nilgiri megalithic burials). 2. dish-on-stand and ring stand (found in Tirukkampuliyūr, Tiruchirāppaḷḷi district and in the megalithic burials all over the South), 3. spouted bowl, the spout being luted at the bottom (found at Koṟkai in Tirunelvēli district), and a few other shapes like shallow bowls, *lota* etc.

4. The pottery also bear graffiti marks. There are a considerable number of graffiti symbols from the south which are

akin to some of the letters constituting the Harappan script (The significance of these graffiti will be discussed later).

5. Ring wells were used in both regions—particularly in Kāñchipuram there are hundreds of such ring wells buried in the river beds and on the banks of the Vegavati river.

6. The Harappan knew the use of horse as evidenced from Surkotada excavations. The megalithic people in the South also used horses as seen from the horse-bits collected from their burials. Besides, the Sangam literature contain references to the import of horses.

7. The structural remains of the Harappan exhibit a variety of bricks which are of massive size measuring $18'' \times 9'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Such bricks were also used in Tamil Nāḍu as evidenced from the excavations at Kāñchipuram. These bricks were used in ihe construction of a Buddhist structure at Kāñchīpuram.

8. The numerous bronze objects found at Ādichchanallūr indicate the high proficiency they attained in the field of metallurgy. The Harappan also possessed remarkable degree of proficiency in the field. Bronze is a rare object in other sites in the south; it is due to the fact that bronze was scarce in South India.

9. The study of the skulls of the Harappans and of the neolithic and Iron Age South Indians is still in its infant stage. But one thing is certain. Among the Harappans, there were different ethnic groups or races like Mediterranean, proto-Austroloid etc. as suggested by a recent study of the skulls from the Harappan sites. The Mediterranean stock seems to occur among the Kallars. The proto-Austroloid characters may be seen in the jungle folk of South India like Kādars, Kuṛumbars etc. Further the study of the Ādichchanallūr skulls has revealed that they belong to the Dravidian stock. It may be mentioned here that much cannot be said about the racial groups pertaining to these two cultures as very little has been done in this direction. We cannot say anything boldly as it requires a sound knowledge of physical anthropology. For the present, it is suffice if we could

say that the ethnological studies too take the Indus Valley culture very close to the Dravidians.

10. It has been recently announced by Dr. Sankalia that one of the terracotta dancing figures (3"h) from Harappa bears resemblance to our South Indian Nataraja of Cōḻa period. This needs further study.

The points cited above coupled with the decipherment of the Harappan script by Finishian scholars would convince us to link the Harappa culture with the Dravidians. But there are other problems i.e. the Harappa culture and the Iron Age culture are separated by time and space. But these gaps can be narrowed down if fresh excavations are undertaken in the southern most districts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu and under water archaeological expeditions in between Cape Comarin and Ceylon.

Iron Age (Megalithic Age)

The iron age in Tamiḻ Nāḍu constitutes a brilliant chapter in its early history and civilisation. The iron age is characterised by the following traits:—

1. Introduction of iron industry on a large scale.
2. Introduction of rice cultivation and tank irrigation.
3. Disposal of the dead in different types of burial pits and urns. They are called megalithic burials.
4. Use of black-and-red ware on a large scale.
5. Invention of writing.
6. Issue of currency.
7. Contacts with far off countries like Greek, Rome, China, Iran etc.

These inventions had a tremendous impact on the everyday life of the people: The people had led a very comfortable and contended life. This civilisation was of superb nature and spread over the whole of South India. The culture flourished on a grand scale in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The iron age communities are the immediate successors of the neolithic barbarians. Their culture was far more advanced than that of the neolithic people. How did they reach that stage of advancement still remains a problem. They had transformed the society very nicely and comfortably from its stone age character to a well advanced, civilised pattern. Many scholars are of the view that the iron age people are the newcomers to South India. They are said to have overpowered the native population and introduced their cultural traits into the country. This may lead us to deal with the origin and authorship of this culture in the South more particularly in Tamil Nāḍu. Recent archaeological researches and discoveries in Tamil Nāḍu have thrown some new light on these problems.

With regard to the origin of this culture, many of the scholars hold the view that it came from the Mediterranean region as the megalithic burials from the area are similar to those of South India and dated earlier than those of the latter region. Dr. Sankalia traced them to Nubia in Egypt and late Prof. Balakrishna Nair to Near East on the analogy of certain pottery types. They were inclined to trace the origin of this culture to some foreign country because they were always under the impression that South Indian megaliths and their characteristic pottery namely the black-and-red ware are later in date than those in the former countries. But my researches on the pottery fabrics, types of the iron age culture and that of the neolithic culture in Tamil Nāḍu have brought to focus the following points :—

1. There was a mixed population in the age, following different methods for the disposal of the dead.
2. There were certain groups of foreign people-particularly those from Iran were responsible for the special types of pottery vessels found in the Coimbatore megalithic burials and Palani hills near Kodaikkānal.
3. Majority of the population were the descendants of their neolithic natives. There are a number of pottery shapes like bowls, cups, plates, cup-on-stand, ring-stand common to both people.

The above points suggest that the majority of the iron age communities are the natural successors of the neolithic people. As said earlier the Indus valley people also identified themselves with these people. It occurs to me that the iron age culture originated in the South and spread to other parts of India. For this, the antiquity of iron in the South is now pushed back to 1050 B.C. as seen at Hallur in Mysore. In North India iron has been found in association with the Painted Grey Ware culture datable to 1200 B.C. or so. Hence it was argued that iron is earlier in North India than in the South. It was introduced into South India by the northerners. The recent excavations at Koṛkai have revealed the iron age habitational deposit datable to 8th century B.C. But the black-and-red ware spouted bowls from this site may be dated to the last quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. on the basis of their similarity with those from central Indian chalcolithic sites and Harappan sites. The Nallampaṭṭi (Coimbatore district) grave yard pottery may be also taken to the same period. Hence as argued earlier the beginning of the iron age in the south has to be seen in the last quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. and also for the iron. The abundant use of iron is noticed in all the iron age sites. The iron industry has made a tremendous progress in the south. Though iron is dated to 1200 B.C. in North India, the dating refers to only the stratified layers wherein were found a few iron pieces. The industry was not represented as such. The Painted Grey Ware people might be aware of the existence of the metal at that period; but they had not exploited the iron mines and developed the industry as noticed in the south.

Therefore iron seems to have travelled from the South to North India. It seems to have been introduced in Tamiḻ Nāḍu at an very early date i.e. 1200 B.C. This dating rejects the earlier dating like 3rd century B.C. to iron in the south given by Dr. Wheeler and others. The culture continued to survive till 1st century A.D.

Regarding the authorship of this iron age culture of the so called megalithic people, it has been held by many scholars that

they are Dravidians. The study of skulls from Ādichchanallūr burials also point to this fact. Further, some of the finds from Ādichchanallūr like iron trident, banner bases, representation of fowl in bronze etc. suggest the existence of the cult of Muruga or Vēlan, the Tamiḻ God. There are also other factors derived after a careful study of the numerous finds from the excavations in the iron age settlements in Tamiḻ Nāḍu which strongly support the theory that the authors of the culture were Dravidians. When I deal with the material culture of the people as gleaned from the excavated finds one may realise this point.

The iron age and its continuity or its later half may be considered to coincide with the Saṅgam age. Dr. Mahalingam who excavated the Lower Kavēri Valley basin has fixed the middle of 1st millennium B.C. as the period which is being portrayed in the Saṅgam literature. The recent C 14 dating from Koṛkai (i e. 785 B.C.) pushes the Sangam literature to that period. According to Dr. Mahālingam, "the alluring picture of highly sophisticated society gathered from the early Tamiḻ literature may be compared with the results obtained by spade of the archaeoligists before forming any reliable idea of the meterial culture of the people of the period. Such archaeological evidence is calculated to support, supplement or correct the otherwise one sided picture we have of the early culture of Tamiḻ Nāḍu."

Material Culture

It may now be discussed what light the excavations have thrown on the material culture of the early Tamiḻs:—

CHART SHOWING THE BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILISATION IN TAMILNAḌU

Period	Place	Antiquities	Discoveries and Life
2,00,000 years ago	Vaḍamadurai, Attirampākkam	Stone Hand axes	Man as nomad.
75,000—50,000 B.C.	Attirampākkam	Small Hand axes and blade tools	Man as nomad.
40,000—20,00 B.C.	Attirampākkam	Small stone tools like scrapers, cleavers, points etc.	Man as nomad.
8,000—2,000 B.C.	Sāwyerpuram	Microliths of semi precious stones	Man started realising the value of life.
2,000—1,000 3.C.	Paiyampaḷḷi	Polished Stone axes	Cultivation, pottery etc. were invented. Man became civilised
1,000 B.C. to 100 A.D.	Ādichchanallūr, Sānūr, Amirthamangalam, Paiyampaḷḷi, Korkai, Tirukkampuliyūr, Uṟaiyūr, Kāñchipuram, Arikamēdu	Iron and copper objects	Saṅgam Age

Economic conditions

Agriculture was the mainstay of the people. The settlements were mostly located on the banks of rivers, lakes or nearby tanks. As stated earlier tank irrigation was introduced during this period in the Chingleput district. In the district their burials have been generally noticed in the vicinity of tanks and green paddy fields. Further, large quantities of husk and rice have been collected from the urn burials at Ādichchanallūr and from excavations at Tirukkāmpuliyūr. At Tirukkāmpuliyūr, a double granary was unearthed. The discovery of iron sickles, tips of ploughs etc. from their burials adds to our knowledge about the agricultural activities in the country. Hunting and fishing supplemented the foodsupply of the people during the period to a considerable extent.

There were other industries such as those of ceramics, weaving and dyeing, metal working, terracotta art, bead and bangle making etc. which helped the agrarian community to a large extent.

Ceramic industry

The ceramic industry reached a high water mark particularly during the early centuries of the Christian era. Though the pottery made its first appearance in the neolithic period, it reached its perfection and sophistication only during the iron age. There were several ceramic industries such as black-and-red ware, red slipped ware, all black ware or black polished ware, brown slipped ware, orange slipped ware, painted ware etc. The pottery like black-and-red ware, all black ware and painted ware were all made of well levigated clay. They were highly polished bearing lustrous surface and produce metallic ring. They produce metallic sound if they are hit against the ground. The paintings are seen intact even today. The modern potter cannot produce such pottery. The modern pottery also cannot be compared with the ancient pottery.

Different types of vessels meant for different purpose were produced. Types like looking pots, water vessels, eating plates,

storage jars or troughs, vessel for drawing water from the wells. eating plates, wine jars or pots, cups or bowls, stands, legged pots, lids, lid-cum-bowl, flower vases etc were used. We also get reference to various types of vessels, in the early Tamiḻ literature. For instance, *Maṇḍai* (eating bowl), *Miḍā* (cooking vessel), *Pāṇḍil* (circular shaped vessel), *Pila* (plate or bowl), *Mūḍi* (lid), *Vaṭṭu* (circular mouthed wine jar which may be compared with the Roman amphorae jar), *Kaṭchāḍi* (jar with toddy), *Tasumbu* (pot with toddy), *Vaṭṭikai* (round plates), *Vaḷḷam* (vessel with circular opening), *Iḍiñjil* (a vessel), *Jāḍi* (jar with imported wine), *Kadiñjar* (begging bowl), *Kuḷisi* (pot with ballot paper), *Tāḻi*, *Mudumakkal-tāḻi* etc. (burial urns) etc. are some of the terms occurring in the Saṅgam literature which attest to the flourishing state of ceramic industries. Further, the potter is referred to in several works as *Kuyavan*, *Vēṭko* etc. He was a respectable citizen of the society. The rod which was used to cut the vessel from the clay lump placed on the rotating wheel of the potter is referred to as *Maṭpakai.* Many of the metal shapes that are being used in our homes have their prototypes in the iron age ceramics.

Weaving and dyeing industries

Next to agriculture, the weaving and dyeing industries were largely followed by the people. Evidences for their popularity and large scale practice come from the Saṅgam literature. There were many centres noted for textile and silk industries—Uṛaiyūr in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi district, Kāñchīpuram in Chingleput district and Paṭṭukkōṭṭai in Tanjāvūr district deserve mention here. Archaeoligical evidences connected with these industries come from different sites. There are numerous terracotta figures of men and women adorned with garments of different kinds. The excavations yielded numerous round pieces of pottery measuring 2 to 4 cms. diameter with a central hole, which were used as spindle whorls in spinning. The excavations at Arikamēḍu near Pōndicherry yielded a brick structure, which was identified as a dyeing wat by Dr. Wheeler. At Uṛaiyūr more or less a similar structure but of smaller size was unearthed. These were constructed with big bricks and with necessary inlets and outlets. Here it may be recalled that in

Maṇimēkalai small tanks with inlets and outlets have been described as *Entirakkiṇaṟu vāvi*. It suggests that the ancient people knew the technique of filling a tank and draining the water from the same through inlets and outlets respectively. The principle has been applied in the construction of the above mentioned dyeing vats which consist of several brick courses.

With regard to the textile centres, Paṭṭukkōṭṭai seems to have served as a flourishing centre for silk industries in those days. The very name suggests that it was a *Kōṭṭai* (fortress) for *Paṭṭu* (silk). But now it is a small town and no traces of this industry are seen here today. However the suggestion gets strong support from numismatic evidences. Chinese coins datable to 3rd century B.C. have been found near this place. In no other place in the South, Chinese coins have been reported. Why should the Chinese come to Paṭṭukōṭṭai and what could have attracted them to have some transaction with the local people? There is no doubt that Paṭṭukkōṭṭai was at that time a great trade centre probably exporting silk to China.

Uṟaiyūr and Kāñchīpuram are even today considered to be great centres for cotton and silk sarees respectively. We need not say much about their relations with these industries.

Metal working or metallurgy

Metal working was yet another important profession practiced during the period which involved a high degree of skill and knowledge of scientific methods like smelting, casting and carving. Among the metals which were in use were gold, bronze, copper, silver and iron. The Ādichchanallūr objects like utensils, weapons, and ornaments bear evidence to the progress of this industry in ancient times.

As already pointed, the use of iron was first discovered by the early iron age inhabitants of South India round about 1200 B.C. or so. Even during that early period the iron working industry reached a high water mark–a fact which indicates a deep antiquity for iron in South India.

Iron was used in abundant quantity as utensils like bowls, plates, measures, small vessels, etc. Ornaments like bangles, beads etc. and other objects like nails, nut crackers and various agricultural equipment have been discovered in the course of excavations. Copper figures next to iron only. Its use was restricted and was mostly used for making ornaments like bangles, toe and finger rings, beads, antimony rods; gold, silver and bronze objects have been found in a very limited number as they are precious metals.

It is needless to note here that the Saṅgam lIterature as you all know contain references to the use of these metals and also to those engaged in the metal working—like coppersmith, goldsmith etc. Copper pots and ring (*Mōdiram*) have been referred to in *Naṟṟinai* and *Kalittokai* respectively.

Ornamentation work

The painted designs lavishly made on the pottery of the period coupled with the incised and applique patterns suggest decorative art had reached a good state of maturity and sophistication. They have used the colour agents, readily and easily available—i.e. the red ochres etc. They have prepared from these ochres small rectangular tablets of paste—mostly red paste. These tablets were collected from Kāñchīpuram excavations. They may also be called *nāmakkaṭṭi.* The use of red paste coating on the exterior walls of the forts has been mentioned in the Saṅgam works like Śilappadikāram. It is said in Śilappadikāram that when "sun rays fall on the coated surface of the wall, it began glittering". The preparation of red paste water (*aṛakkunir*) has been mentioned in *Paripāḍal.* Therefore it seems that the red paste prepared out of red ochre was widely in use during the Saṅgam age.

The painted designs mostly in red colour are still intact on the earthen ware vessels. This was mainly due to the fact that the paintings were executed before firing the vessels. They were applied on a background coated with lime. Even the terracotta beads and shell bangles are seen decorated with the red paste (from Uṛaiyūr).

The excavations have further yielded thousands of objects like beads, bangles, studs, antimony rods etc. They were made of clay, terracotta, shell, stone, semiprecious stones like quartz, crystal, jasper, agate, garnet, amythyst, carnelian, beryl, soap stone etc., glass and metals like copper silver and gold. Among these, the bangles of shell and terracotta beads bear incised decorations. Stone and glass studs were also used for the finger rings.

Beads were made in different shapes and sizes of which the spherical and bi-conical beads deserve mention. Bead making industry was the most popular industry prevalent during this period. These beads also sometimes serve us as an index to date the cultural periods.

Among the beads, the beryl beads deserve our attention as the queens of the Roman emperors were fond of necklaces made out of these beads. The beryl stone was available in plenty in the ancient Kongu country—particularly in the modern Coimbatore district. It seems, beryl was one of the items of export from Tamiḻ Nāḍu to Rome during these days. This is further confirmed by the find of numerous Roman coins in the Coimbatore region.

The Saṅgam literature also contain information about the manufacture of these ornaments and the people, both men and women, were fond of them; particularly shell bangles (*Saṅku vaḷaiyal*) and glass beads (*Paḷinku*) are frequently mentioned in Śilappadikāram and Ahanānūru. The conch cutters are referred to as *Vaḷai porunar* in Śilappadikāram.

Terracotta Art

The terracotta art may be called 'Suduman-kalai' in Tamiḻ. The antiquity of terracotta art in Tamiḻ Nāḍu goes back to the neolithic times as evidenced from the excavations at Paiyampaḷḷi. But the art has reached its zenith of perfection only during the Saṅgam age. Hundreds of terracotta figurines representing men, women, god and goddess, animal and birds, besides beads and bangles have been collected from sites like Arikamēdu, Uṛaiyūr, Koṛkai, Kāñchīpuram, Tirukkāmpuliyūr, Alagarai etc. The human

figures are shown in various poses with different kinds of drapery nicely woven. They also wear different types of head dress and their hair is done to different knots.

In Śilappadikāram we come across a term '*maṇṇīṭṭālar*' which may be taken to denote either the sculptor or the maker of terracotta figures or stucco idols. There is another term *maṇṇidu* (in Śilappadikāram) which is said to denote stucco figure. It may also be a terracotta figure. It is evident from these references that during the Saṅgam age terracotta art was very popular and was patronised by the people.

They are made by different methods such as by hand, mould and cast. The terracottas that we have collected are mostly hand made and only a few are made out of mould. Some of the terracottas are solid and some others hollow. A careful study of these terracotta figures will give us an insight into the socio-economic and religious conditions in the period besides the aesthetic and aristocratic taste of the people. The impact of foreign influences on local culture can be also studied with the help of these figures. For instance, the Buddha head from Tirukkāmpuliyūr shows curly hair, similar to that in Gāndhāra figures.

The facial features of these terracotta human figures may also throw light on the ethnic composition of the ancient population. Among the terracotta human figures and heads from Tirukkāmpuḷḷiyūr, Alagarai and Uṛaiyūr, there are a few suggesting negrito and Austroloid and Mediterranean races.

There are a few human figures from Kāñchipuram with a piece of cloth worn on the head covering upto the brim of the forehead. This feature is not seen in the human heads representing local pupulation. These heads may represent foreigners, most probably, Arabs.

These terracottas also tell us the way in which the people worshipped forces of nature, gods and goddesses, because a number of votive objects of religious character have been found in the excavations.

Trade activities

Both inland and the foreign trade were conducted—The inland trade activities are indicated by find of numerous terracotta weights from Uṛaiyūr and a seal from Tirukkāmpuliyūr. These weights are about 1½" high with circular body and flat top and bottom. The seal bears some design. Terracotta seals with emblem or marks scrapped on them are referred to as *maṇpori* in *S'ilap-padikāram.* Though archaeological field work could not revel much information about the list of items exported or imported, as earlier said, semi-precious stones like beryl, ivory, pearl, cotton, silk etc. could have been exported to countries like China, Rome, Greece etc. By way of foreign trade gold was poured into the country as evidenced from hundreds of Roman coins found in various parts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

It is needless to mention or refer to the literary references to the trade contacts the Tamiḻs had with many foreign countries. Ports like Koṛkai, Puhār were flourishing as great centres of trade activities. The term *Yavana* mentioned in Saṅgam works in connection with foreign nationals deserves special mention at this juncture. Who are these foreign nationals?—whether they are the Greeks or Romans or Arabs or Chinese? It occurs to me that the term *Yavana* generally denotes any of the foreigners just referred to. The find of Chinese coins datable from 3rd century B.C. to 11th century A.D. in Paṭṭukkōṭṭai, and the numerous Roman coins collected from the various districts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu lend colour to this fact. Further the recent excavations at Uṛaiyūr, Koṛkai, Puhār, Karūr, Kāñchīpuram, Vaśavasamudram, Kāvirippumpaṭṭinam, Nathamēḍu (near Cuddalore), Śengamēḍu etc. yielded the Roman pottery, known as rouletted ware. At Kāñchīpuram, Roman amphorae both original and imitational ones have been unearthed. Previously Roman pottery were found only at Arikamēḍu, a coastal town. At that time, it was thought that the Romans had trade relations only with the people in the coastal towns. But the excavations at the above mentioned sites prove that the Romans had also moved to the inland areas to contact the people.

It is also believed that there were Roman settlements at places like Arikamēḍu, Uṛaiyūr etc.

Coinage

Though barter system was the popular mode of business transactions, coins were also issued to serve as medium of exchange. The earliest coins in Tamiḻ Nāḍu, even in India as a whole, are called punch marked coins. They bear symbols punched on both their obverse and reverse. They were made in silver, copper and lead. They have been reported from a number of places in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The punch marked coins do not bear any legend or lebel; hence we could not say much about their authorship. However very recently a hoard of coins with Brāhmi legends has been discovered at a place called Āṇḍipaṭṭi in North Arcot district. They are said to have been issued by one Śēndan. He may be a Saṅgam chieftain. He has to be properly identified. According to palaeographical studies, the coins may be dated to 1st-2nd century A.D.

The punch marked coins from the ancient Pāṇḍyan Kingdom bear fish emblem attesting the fact that they were issued by the early Pāṇḍyās.

The early Çōḻa coins with tiger emblem have been reported from Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. They are dated to 2nd Century A.D. But the date can even be pushed back. The explorations conducted by Dr. K. V. Raman in the Vaigai bed at Madurai have also yielded a few Pāṇḍya coins with elephant scratched on them.

These early coins seem to have been in circulation throughout Tamiḻ Nāḍu. But their chronology still remains unsettled. However, the punch marked coins may be dated to the iron age as most of the symbols on them bear close resemblance to the *graffiti* marks on the iron age pottery.

The Saṅgam literature reveals that there were different types of coins like *Poḻankāśu, Kaḻañju, Kāśu,* etc. But these references are inadequate to draw any conclusive remark about their face value. But the terms like *kāśu, kaḻañju, pon* etc. also occur in the epigraphical reports of the Çōḻas.

Recently Rāmayya expressed the view that the Āṇḍippaṭṭi coins were issued by the Kaḷabhrās. But his explanation is not convincing as the letters are so clearly seen that they cannot be deciphered so. They read as "Athinan Ethiran Sēnthan".

Building activities :

These people made good progress in building operations and constructions. There is evidence to show that they constructed mud, mud-brick, burnt brick and rubble walls besides continuing the primitive method called wattle and daub. They knew lime and mud plastering. The literature refers to buildings of bricks and the method of clay flooring. For instance, the brick is called *Iṭṭikai* in *Ahanānūṟu.* The flooring covered with cow-dung paste has been also referred to in *Puṟanānūṟu* as *Appi.* It is interesting to note here that a building (probably of bricks) with a frontal resembling the face of tiger has been referred to in *paripāḍal.* This reminds us of the tiger cave near Māmallapuram excavated by the Pallavās.

The excavations revealed mud walls, brick structures like double granary in Tirukkāmpuliyūr, remnants of a Buddhist stūpa at Kāñchīpuram and Buddhist vihārās at Kāvirippūm-paṭṭinam. These structures give us fairly a good idea about the methods of construction followed in those days. Small bricks (of normal size) as well as massive bricks of abnormal size measuring 19″×10″×3½″ were encountered. The foundations were laid with hard earth or clay mixed with gravel or rubbles. While constructing walls, rubbles have been also used in association with bricks as seen at Tirukkāmpuliyūr. We have also come across clay flooring covered with chunam work (*Appi* in *Puṟanānūṟu*).

In the course of excavations, post holes (holes to plant bamboo poles or wooden posts to support thatched roofs) have been found. Their alignment suggests that small houses with mud walls and thatched roofs were built; their ground plan being either square, rectangular or circular. These post holes measure 9″ in diameter and 8″ to 12″ depth.

Post holes running in a criss-cross pattern for about 25′ have been noticed at a depth of about 18′ below surface at Kāñchīpuram near the stūpa remains. This suggested that thatched shed like structure could have been put up near the stūpa in those days.

Besides these remains, wharf like structures were noticed at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam and Śengamēḍu. The structure in the later place is located just on the banks of the river *tēnathi.* The structure contained some 9 courses of massive bricks and ran to about two furlongs.

In Çōḻamāḷigai, which is a hamlet in Paḻayāṟai, the capital of the early Çōḻas, a huge palace built of bricks is seen buried beneath the surface. Paḻayāṟai is mentioned in several Çōḻa inscriptions as a place where the Çoḻa capital and their palace were located. Therefore if large scale excavations were undertaken in Çōḻamāḷigai; we may be able to unearth the forgotten palace of the Çōḻas.

Social conditions

Though the literary works of the period refer to the existence of different castes and separate streets or localities occupied by them, nothing is known of this from excavations. But on the contrary they throw a volume of light on the social customs, manners, food habits, sports and pastime activities of the people in the period. A number of interesting antiquities and ornaments collected from explorations and excavations give us a broad picture of contemporary society.

As said earlier a number of professions such as agriculture, pottery, metallurgy etc. were largely practised in the country. Regarding their food habits, rice and probably barley and other cereals also, were the chief grains which were available for food. It may be worth mentioning here that at Tirukkāmpuliyūr a large quantity of paddy hush was collected. The burial urns from Ādichchanallūr and other places contained small bowls with rice.

With regard to dress, a numbr of terracotta human figurines suggest the way in which garments were worn by men and women.

Both men and women wore upper and lower garments. The women folk wore nicely woven sarees and blouses. The method of wearing dress by women is very similar to the modern mode of wearing sarees by them. Men were fond of turbans. They as also the women folk made different kinds of knots of their hair. A few terracotta male heads from Kāñchīpuram bear a fan like head dress. Similarly a female terracotta figure from Arikamēḍu wears the saree in the northern style—*pañchakacham* fashion.

Both men and women wore ornaments. The excavated finds like beads, bangles, rings and some of the terracotta figurines suggest that numerous ornaments made of different material were in use. The women folk wore a large number of bangles and necklaces etc. They also wore amulets in different shapes like double fish, *srīvatsa*, tortoise etc.

Regarding their sports, hunting was a favourite game among them as evidenced from finds like arrow heads, points. However other sports activities, such as swimming, boating and indoor plays on different diagrams, drawn on the floor (like *pulikkaṭṭam*, *eṭṭukkaṭṭam* in Tamiḻ etc.) and the chess were not unknown to them. It may be pointed out here that there are certain *graffiti* marks representing boat, diagrams of different patterns etc. Yet another fact is that a few terracotta chess men or pawn and a pair of dies (*thāyakkaṭṭai* in Tamiḻ) were collected from the Lower Kavēri valley excavations. Though we do not know the origin of the chess game, it may be said that its antiquity in Tamiḻ Nāḍu goes back to the iron age. It is also worth mentioning here that the spheroidal pawn (die) is referred to as *Vaṭṭu* in *Tirukkuraḷ* and *Maṇimēkalai.* Further in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, the die used in gambling is mentioned as *Val.*

It may also be said in this connection that recently a complete set of chess men made purely of clay ascribable to 13th century A.D. has been unearthed in Russia. Likewise, they have been reported from a number of sites in India. Besides, a number of other interesting antiquities like rattles, toy carts, hopscotches etc. give us some idea about toy vessels and taste of the young for sports during the period.

Language and script

The language of the people was Tamil. But with regard to their script there is a lot of controversy. It has been said that Brāhmi was the earliest known script in India—that applies to Tamil Nāḍu also. But Brāhmi is not earlier than the period of Aśōka as the earliest records in India belong to his period. However the relic receptable inscription from Piprehava in the Nēpal frontier is said to have a Brāhmi script datable to c. 450 B.C. i.e. earlier than Aśōkan inscriptions.

Coming to south India, Bhaṭṭiprōlu Brāhmi inscription is considered to be the earliest and the Brāhmi is called South Indian Brāhmi. The Brāhmi inscriptions which are mostly confined to southern districts like Madurai, Rāmanāthapuram and Tirunelvēli in Tamil Nāḍu may be considered to be a class by themselves. Great lumineries on Indian palaeography have ascribed 2nd century B.C. as the earliest date to these Brāhmi inscriptions. According to them their chronology ranges from 2nd century B.C. to 6th and 7th century A.D.

The recent excavations in Tamil Nāḍu and the discovery of potsherd inscriptions from such excavations throw some new light on the dating of these Brāhmi inscriptions. The potsherd inscriptions are firmly dated on the basis of their association with some datable finds like coins, pottery etc. For instance, the potsherd inscriptions from Arikamēḍu are dated to 1st century A.D. In Uṛaiyūr and Kāñchipuram numerous potsherd inscriptions have been found and they may be dated to the age of the pottery on which the Brāhmi is scratched. Thus the palaeography of the Brāhmi script on the pottery can be dated. But the dating of the palaeography of the cave inscriptions hitherto done has to be revised in the light of the discovery of the potsherd inscriptions. If we make an attempt to compare these two, we may come to know they do not tally with each other regarding their chronology.

I would like to point out here that the Brāhmi script is found on the black-and-red ware, and red slipped ware of 2nd and 1st century B.C. as evidenced from Uṛaiyūr. It also occurs on

the red ware of 4th and 5th century A.D. There is no difference between the Brāhmi of the former and the latter. This shows that Brāhmi has not developed. This fact may also come to surface if one deeply studies the behaviour of the various Brāhmi letters of the cavern inscription. But there may be some letters which may betray some evolution. But that may be attributed to the scribe. Hence it may be suggested that (i) the Brāhmi in Tamiḻ country is earlier than the period of Aśōka. (ii) There is no evolution traceable in the Brāhmi script. (iii) There existed a proto-Brāhmi script in South India during the iron age i.e. earlier than the 3rd century B.C. This presumption needs explanation. As pointed out earlier the iron age pottery of South India, particularly of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, bears numerous *graffiti* marks. Among them are a few marks representing Brāhmi letters. They are *a*, *ka*, *cha tha*, *ma*, *u*, *ṉa*, *ṇa*, *na*, *ra*, *la*, *pa*, *va*, *ya*, *o* and *ṭa*.

These letters seem to constitute a script which may be called proto-Brāhmi.

It seems that the present Tamiḻ script has nothing to do with the Brāhmi script. It could not have evolved from Brāhmi as most of the Brāhmi letters have no relevance to the Tamiḻ letters and their forms. Further, there seems to have existed a separate script for Tamiḻ language even during the period of Brāhmi script. It is from that script only the modern Tamiḻ script could have been developed. To support this point I may have to point out the existence of a few pure Tamiḻ letters during the period. They are *cha*, *ya*, and *ḻa*. These letters have been picked up and incorporated in the Brāhmi inscriptions of 1st century B.C.—1st century A.D. These letters are so developed that they can even be compared to their modern counterparts. What about the other Tamiḻ letters is the question that come up for discussion. I think that we have to search for new inscriptions and palm leave manuscripts which can alone unfold the mystery around the origin and antiquity of Tamiḻ script.

Religious conditions:

The people during the period under review realised the great power of the forces of Nature. According to literary evidences,

they seem to have worshipped various elements of Nature such as the sun, moon, star, sea, river, mountain, pillar, tree, plants etc. Besides, worship was also offered to the different Gods and Goddesses of the major religions like Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and to the sages and saints belonging to the creeds like Buddhism and Jainism. The unearthed finds, mostly the terracotta objects of religious significance from the various excavations in South India also confirm the evidence of the Saṅgam literature on the then existing beliefs of the people in the field of religion and philosophy and the different forms of worship connected with them.

The significance of some of the important terracotta objects and a few symbols of religious nature which are generally known as *graffiti* marks may now be considered.

The occurrence of various symbols like those of the sun, moon, the conventionalised form of animals and plants, the mountain, river, etc. on the potsherds of the period clearly attest to the prevalence of worship offered to the supernatural power and the recognition of their supremacy in the day-to-day life of the common man in society. Besides the *graffiti* symbols, the terracotta figurines of a *Vṛkṣadēvata* or tree spirit and of a winged *devata* which have been collected in the course of the excavations at Tirukkāmpuliyūr clearly indicate the faith of the people in the worship of tree and other spirits. Another important find is that of a terracotta Mother Goddess at Tirukkāmpuliyūr which revealed one of the most interesting aspects of the ancient religion. In fact, the worship of the Divine Mother is one of the outstanding features of the Hindu religious faith. She possesses activity and force (*sakti*). She is more easily propitiated by prayer, flattery and offerings. She is more ready to defend against evil, more sensitive to human need, more irritable and capricious in Her temper and moods, more dangerously spiteful and prone to inflict diseases, if offended by neglect. In India, particularly in ancient times, Mother Goddess worship was an aspect of Śaivism. The Mother Goddess in the early period is represented as nude which signifies the veneration and respect shown by the people to the fertility cult. She is supposed to represent the Great Earth and so is identified with Her, signifying Her reproductive aspects.

In most cases the bust and the waist portions of the Mother Goddess are alone shown; the hip is shown slightly bulged and broadened, signifying Her reproductive power. The figure from Tirukkāmpuliyūr has only the hip and a part of the bust is in complete nudity, with, of course, some decorative incised dot pattern adorning the hip portion. It is solid and uniformly fired.

Mother Goddess worship was prevalent even in the Indus Valley period. This cult is very old and its antiquity may even be traced back to the late stone age in Spain and France.

It is also worth mentioning here about the depiction of *Trisūla* or three pronged arrow on the pottery of these people. The *Trisūla* may be taken to represent the Mother Goddess cult as well as Lord Muruga or Śiva. Objects like *Nāga linga, mūṣika,* seated Gaṇēsa, Bālakrishna collected from the Lower Kavēri valley excavations suggest the popularity of the twin creeds Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

As you all know Buddhism was very popular during the Saṅgam age and there flourished great Buddhist centres like Kāñchīpuram and Puhār as evidenced from Saṅgam works. Now the spade work has brought to surface some Buddhist vestiges in these two places. At Kāñchīpuram, remnants of a stūpa were discovered at a depth of 18′ below surface. It was built of massive bricks. The binding medium used was hard clay mixed with gravel. It was noticed that the hard clay flooring and brick courses were laid alternatively so as to minimise the use of bricks. A few Buddhist antiquities like spouted necks, spouts, tiny glass beads, amulets with lotus impression, *srivatsa,* etc. have been also collected around the stūpa remains. According to C14 dates available, the stūpa belongs to 4th century B.C. These archaeological evidences now confirm what is stated in Saṅgam works about Kāñchīpuram and its association with Buddhism.

Though Hieun-Tsang visited Kāñchīpuram and described about its association with Buddhism, till recently it was questioned whether the present Kāñchīpuram can be identified with Hieun—Tsang's Kāñchīpuram or not. It was argued that in Kāñchīpuram

Buddhist vestiges like stūpa, or vihāra have not been noticed and hence this Kāñchīpuram was different from the one described by Hieun-Tsang. But the recent excavations at Kāñchīpuram have now dispelled the gossip and proved beyond any rang of doubt about the antiquity of Kāñchīpuram and its association with Buddhism.

Regarding Pūmpuhār, we have gathered interesting information about its antiquity and its association with Buddhism. Buddhist vihāras, Buddha images and *Buddha pātham* have been discovered at the place very recently. *Buddha pātham* is referred to as *Paṅkayap-piḍikai* in *Maṇimēkalai* (an altar bearing the impression of Buddha's feet). These discoveries afford additional evidence to strengthen the statements made in the Saṅgam works. They also tell us about the popularity of Buddhism in Tamiḻ country during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Regarding Jainism archaeological excavations have yielded practically very little information. We have nothing to offer except showing the Jaina caverns excavated in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

Disposal of the dead

The cult of the dead was the most primitive religion in ancient world. All the religions of the present times have had their humble beginning in that primitive religion. The great monuments like the Egyptian pyramids, stonehenges in Europe, megaliths in Mediterranean region attest to the existence of the cult of the dead in the remote past.

The iron age people also practised the cult in a grand manner as their burial monuments (which are called megalithic burials) are found scattered all over South India. These monuments are found in large numbers in Chingleput district (i.e. more than 200 sites and 1000 burials). They present different types—cist burial, pit burial, menhir, rock-cut chambers etc. besides the urn burials. The urn burials may have stone appendage or may occur without them.

In these pits and urns not only skeletal remains of the dead but also the objects and ornaments used by them while they

were alive are found. This fact suggests that the ancients paid some respect to the dead and buried along with them what they have used in their daily life. This shows that they believed in the theory of the existence of soul after death which may need these objects. They knew that the human body was perishable but the soul was immortal. They believe in life after death.

In a few burials, the interior of the pits are lined with dressed vertical stone slabs and even the floor is covered with a flat slab. One or two of the vertical slabs may carry a big hole measuring 1½′ diameter at about 2′ above the floor level. What was the purpose in providing these holes is the question to be answered. There are so many theories put forward. But I do not want to go deep into them. I would suggest that the ancient people made these holes on the slabs in the burial pit with a belief that the soul of the dead may alive and air was to be made available to it for its survival.

These monuments seem to have been held in high esteem by people as revealed by their very method of construction. The types like dolmenoid cist look like small shrines with four vertical boulders covered with a long cap stone. These megalithic monuments are very similar to Buddhist stūpās which are also funeral in character.

In ancient Tamiḻ Nāḍu there was a custom to erect memorials over the corporal remains of the dead. They are called in the inscriptions as *Paḷḷippaḍai*. Hero stones may also be considered as memorials. During Saṅgam age small shrines were built over the remains of great personalities and saints. In the Çōḷa epigraphs we come across instances of erecting temples as *paḷḷippaḍai* over the remains of the dead. Therefore I would suggest that the temple architecture in Tamiḻ Nāḍu may have its beginning in the megalithic monuments. This suggestion requires further study.

The urn burials and pit burials are referred to in Saṅgam works. For instance, in Maṇimēkalai they are referred to as:

"suḍuvor iḍuvor toḍukuḻip paḍuppor
tāḻvayinaḍaippor tāḻiyir kavippor"

(Maṇimēkalai 6, 11, 66–67)

Urn burials are also referred to in *Naṟṟiṇai* (271:11–12), *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (238:1–5) and *Padiṟṟuppattu* (44:22–23).

The burial ground was variously called *peruṅkāḍu, mudukāḍu, iḍukāḍu* etc. The megaliths are referred to as *karkiḍai* in *Puṟanāṉūṟu.* Besides these, the hero stones are referred to in many of the works.

The Dravidians buried their dead; cremation was not practiced by them. Later it was introduced into South India by the Āryans. As mentioned earlier in *Maṇimēkalai* we get references to different groups of people following different modes of burials. Cremation is also mentioned. That may indicate the existence of a sizable number of Āryans.

The skulls and skeletal remains collected from megalithic burials do not suggest or bear any traces of their being burnt. They purely belong to the Drāvidians.

CONCLUSION

Thus the archaeological excavations and explorations have brought to light a volume of information relating to the early history and culture of the people of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. These pieces of information may have to be incorporated in the forthcoming books on History and Culture of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. Then only our history will become uptodate and draw appreciation from the people living outside the boundaries of Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

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Journals

Āraichchi
Ancient India
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Indian Archaeology—A Review
Purātattva

Thiru M. Arunachalam: "The lecturer has indeed given a good picture of some of the recent finds in this field. I wish to add the following remarks.

It is not correct to say that cultivation and pottery were *invented* only by the period 2000—1000 B.C. Tamil Civilization is an agricultural based civilization. A period of not less than 10,000 to 20,000 years can be claimed as the period before which agriculture originated. The analogy of the Sanskiit tradition will be helpful. Nirukta is a Sanskrit work of Yaskar. Classical Sanskrit had come into use during his days but then many Vēdic words, their meanings and their significance and traditions had gone out of use. He thought about it and desired to teach his contemporary scholars the Vēdic words and meanings which were not current. This seems to have been the main purpose of his Nirukta. In the same manner, we find Tolkāppiyam laying down word meanings and conventions in several of the chapters like uri-iyal and Marapu-iyal. He felt that a considerable vocabulary

had also become obsolete. He wanted to perpetuate those words and so he defines very many terms, in his grammatical treatise. Otherwise this kind of lexical matter has no place in his book on grammar. On the analogy of the Nirukta we should imagine that these references of Tolkāppiyam point to an antiquated past in the history of Tamiḻ literature. Just as the Vēdas whose words Yaskar defines are calculated by Abhinaspas and others to belong to a period 20,000 years ago, it is quite likely that the words which Tolkāppiyam has called would have belonged to a literature of an equally ancient past. Any one studying Tolkāppiyam can easily say that it portrays principally an agricultural life. Therefore in the face of this historical background of 20,000 years, fixing up 2000 to 1000 B.C. as the period of the *invention* of cultivation may not be correct.

Again the use of baked mud pot is a main characteristic of the Tamiḻian civilization. This should also go back to the same remote past.

The archaeological finds no doubt indicate only habitation after three hundred B.C. according to the speaker. But this does not mean that there were no habitations earlier. When we accept the modern theory of the Lemurian continent, we should grant the possibility that people migrated from the south and fanned out into the different directions in the north. Therefore it may not be fully correct to claim that people came into India through Iran.

The speaker mentioned Yavanar. This word has been used in the history of the literature to denote all foreigners in the past, such as the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Phonicians, Chinese and the Javanese. The word is an adaptation of the word Ionian but it meant all these. Yavanar is a term freely used in the Saṅgam age. The Yavanar are mentioned in two contexts. One is that they brought into Tamiḻ Nāḍu cool and fragrant wine in handsome containers—யவனர், நன்கலம் தந்த தண்கமழ் தேறல். Liquor was widely used in the Saṅgam age and the Yavanar presumably catered to this taste of the people. The finding of these Yavanar wine vessels in inland areas does not necessarily mean

that the Roman traders had themselves penetrated that far. Wine fanciers went to the coast to purchase wine from Roman vessels calling at the ports and they brought them inland in the Roman jars. The second point is that the Romans were employed as loyal gate-keepers and body-guards. They served in the place of the modern Gūrkhās.

Gem stones are said to have been discovered in exacavations in the Coimbatore district. We find elaborate references in Silappadikāram to whole colonies of gem cutters. In this connection I would also invite attention to the exacavations made at South near Muttra and the museum exhibits there. An ivory figurine of Lakshmi was found in the exacavations at Pompeii. The volcanic erruption destroyed the city in 78 A.D. This figurine was found in the drawing room of a dwelling house unearthed there. It is possible that these had been taken to Pompeii from the west coast of Tamil Nāḍu many years earlier.

The speaker referred to the large size of bricks unearthed at Solamaligai in Tanjavur district—18″×12″×3″. Such large bricks are found in many other places also in the district and they had been used to build not only temples but even private dwelling houses.

The speaker referred to the letters ய, ழ and ச and said these were probably incorporated into the brahmi script from a Tamil script. This statement requires re-examination. Brahmi was the only script prevalent in the whole of India in the ancient past. At the time the Tamil script did not exist. Sometime later Damili and Vatteluttu took off from brahmi, and what we call the Tamil script was developed from Damili. Vatteluttu disappeared after a time."

Sri M. Sundar Raj: "I think the time has come for bringing together in a Monograph form all the recent archaeological discoveries in the country, not only of the Harappa civilisation but of the pre-Harappa cultures also. Not only would this enable one to have a comprehensive view of the work but it would also help to locate the principal sites at the various stages of historical

and pre-historical development. It may be possible then to trace the course of the movements of the people at various times thereby giving us an insight into the migrations and cultural spread in the country chronologically. This would go a long way to clearing up some of the disputed points on cultural movements and exchanges".

Thiru Vedam Venkatraya Sastri: "We have been hearing to a very interesting lecture and the lecturer's clear exposition has brought to our mind many interesting parallels and subjects of history. These findings make interesting reading when compared with literature and known history.

First and foremost it is interesting to note that the neolithic people appear to have had contacts with their counterparts in distant Kashmīr and that the intervening region has not offered any tangible evidence to connect the Kashmīrīs and Tamiḻ Nāḍu neolithic industries. From later history also we understand that Kashmīr and Tamiḻ Nāḍu had many cultural contacts without in any way touching the intermediary region. Somehow the Kashmīrīs seem to have taken interest in the culture of Tamiḻ Nāḍu especially the Pāṇḍyan country and later history shows many parallels and contacts between Tamiḻ Śaivism and Kashmīrian. What attracts our attention is that as in the neolithic culture even during later period we do not have any evidence in the intermediary region to connect both the region.

Secondly the lecturer's observation that the latter half of the Iron age or the Megalithic age "may be taken to coincide with the Saṅgam age and its last quarter with the Satavāhana period" and that "the iron industry seemed to have travelled to the north" once again brings to our minds the Kashmīrī connection. Ancient civilizations appear to have flourished at certain crucial centres like river valleys, coastal towns or very near natural lakes that were having access to high waterways connecting many distant parts of the world. Ancient people, especially the Dravidians, seem to have learnt navigation and had trade and cultural contacts with many distant parts of the world. There are many parallels, similarities and signs of contact between South India,

Western India, Kashmir, Egypt and the Mediterranean region. The Hebrew people, it is well-known, were interested in our peacock along with other merchandise. The worship of the Mother Goddess appears to have been universal along with the cult of the dead. The findings in the excavations—an image of Gandhara Buddha, many punch-marked coins, Buddhistic stūpas nearly twenty feet below the ground level at Kāñchī, Lingās and inscriptions of Brāhmi characters earlier than the Aśōkan etc.—show the exclusive contact of South India with Western and north-western India along with Kashmir and not with Eastern India or Bay of Bengal region. Man is a social being and takes interest in men in places other than his own, either for culture or trade and these evidences show that the route lay through Western India along with sea coast.

The lecturer's doubt whether the references to yavana's meant Arabs or Chinese as many contacts of the Tamiḻs with ancient China and Rome have come to light also points to the same direction. For, the ancient Ionian Greeks were visiting India along with the Phoenicians and other sea traders from very early times. Yavana artisans worked here and Yavana women were serving in the Courts of Kings and houses of rich men. In Kalidāsa's plays the *Yavani* (i.e. yavana woman) is shown as the bearer of the Kings' arms, bows and arrows and also an attendant. Besides the Ionians and Phoenicians the Arabs also were trading with India from a remote period and our present day Maplas are the descendants of those Arab horse traders. In Tamiḻ, the term *Sonakar* is used for the Arabs. The term *Yavana* is also called *Javana* and it is likely that *Javona* is colloquial pronounciation had become *Jona* and *Sona or Chona*. Probably the earliest people who contacted the Indians, both in the North and the South were the Ionians and, as even during the Muslim period foreigners were all called indiscriminately as *Yavanas*, every foreigner, irrespective of nationality was called a Yavana and in Sanskrit a *Mlechcha*. It will be interesting to note that Sanskrit Pandits called even the English by the term *Huna* and the English language as *Hunabhasha*.

Coming to Saṅgam period I have to make the following observation. The Saṅgams are said to have come to at an end before the Pallavās rose to power at Kañchīpuram. From the Saṅgam literary output it is also clear that classical Sanskrit was well known to the Tamiḻ writers. Tolkāppiam, claimed as the earliest, is said to be based on the Andhra School of Sanskrit grammar and that gives it greater antiquity than Panini who appears to be a later grammarian and not at any rate the first of them. What surprises me is this. Sanskrit, i.e. classical Sanskrit, made its appearance in India in inscriptions very late and the earliest Sanskrit record of the north belongs to the second century A.D. (i.e. of Rudradāman) and the earliest in the South in the 3rd. From the times of the Mauryas to that of the early Pallavās the court and popular language of India Prakrit with regional variations and not Sanskrit. Though the Bharata, Bhagavata, Ramayana and other literature were all there it is not clear where they were prevalent and in what part of India they were popular. Panini's date is given as either 4th century B.C. or much earlier. As Panini's is said to have been a native of Sakalapura or Sialkot in North Western Frontiers, a lion infested region and as tradition records that he died at the hands of a lion, it is doubtful whether he was an Indian subject or a Persian. The North Western Frontier country and Sind formed part of the Persian Empire, its 20th Satrapy (Province) until the Persian empire itself was destroyed by Alexander the Great. Hence, if all this were to be correct, Sanskrit was studied more outside India, on the frontiers and perhaps parts of Persia and it is matter for wonder how the ancient Tamiḻ poets of the remote Saṅgam age took to the study of Sanskrit grammar, not of the Paninian school but that of India of a still earlier period. To follow the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar and Sanskrit thought in the Tamiḻ country where there was no need for them, that too at a time when even other parts of India did not take to Sanskrit is really astonishing. If real literary and linguistic interest prompted the Saṅgam poets and Tolkāppianar to study the Aindram, the Tamiḻ poets should have taken the trouble to travel all the way to distance Persian or other seats

of Sanskrit learning like Kāshmir or Nēpal. It is not known whether the Tamiḻs were struck by the method of the Sanskrit grammarians or anticipated its popularity and took to its study. The problem needs careful study in its historical perspective.

Finally, to show the contact of western India is some interesting material about the origin of Kāñcīpuram. It is called, in earlier records, as *Kachchippēdu* i.e. the *Pēdu* or pēttai called *Kachchi*. The term Kachchi means a tortoise in Sanskrit *Kachchapa*. There are temples for Śiva as *Kachchapēswara* and the *Kachchālēswara* temple in Armenian street in Madras-1, is an echo of Kāñchī. Pēttai means a merchant settlement and probably a trade centre. Now it will be interesting to note that in Gujarat, one of the five Dravida territories in India the place called Baru Gaza is derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhrigu Kachchapa* (dēsa) meaning the big land of the tortoise. Even today there are temples there for the Tortoise—Śiva and the similarity of the name may not be casual but a remnant of some ancient contact as we are having evidences of other contacts also. Taking all the evidences together and forming an overall picture we can come to some really useful conclusion if we pursue the matter deeply.

Thiru K. P. Aravanan: "Recently some scholars opine that 'Damizhi' script was the original investigation of Tamiḻs. According to them, 'Damizhi' is different from Brāhmi script. But our lecturer, Dr. Gurumoorthy is against that theory. What are the reasons for his refutation?"

Dr. Gurumurthy replied to the points raised by the participants in the seminar. Regarding the point raised by Thiru K. P. Aravanan, Dr. Gurumurthy said: "Regarding the authorship of the Brāhmi Script, nothing can be said at the present state of our knowledge. Further, I feel that there might have existed a Tamiḻ script. Some of the letters like 'Zha', 'ḻa', 'Cha' could have been borrowed and incorporated in the 3rd—2nd century B.C. Brāhmi script. But this theory requires further examination."

The Chairman then thanked the Leader of the seminar and the participants for the interesting points made on the subject.

REPORTS OF SEMINARS

II

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AS REFLECTED IN LITERATURE—SYMPOSIUM

The Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras-5, held a Symposium at 3 P.M. on Monday the 25th October 1976 in Room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings when the following persons read papers (on the topics indicated below) under the Chairmanship of Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.) the Director of the Institute.

An audience of 70 persons was present.

National Integration as Reflected in :

(*1*) *Tamil Literature*

1. Dr. N. Sanjeevi, Prof. & Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Madras.
2. Dr. S. V. Subrahmaniam, Director, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras.
3. Thiru. M. Arunachalam, Director, Tamil, Sanskrit and other Languages Research Institute, Madras.

(*2*) *Hindi Literature*

Dr. S. Sankar Raju Naidu, Prof. & Head of the Department of Hindi, University of Madras.

(*3*) *Sanskrit Literature*

1. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Prof. & Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras.
2. Thiru. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, Director, Tamil, Sanskrit & Other Langueges Research Institute, Madras.

(*4*) *Urdu Literature*

Prof. Yousuf Kokan, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University of Madras.

(5) *Telugu Literature*

1. Dr. G. Appa Rao, Prof. & Head of the Department of Telugu, University of Madras.
2. Dr. G. Chinnikrishniah, Assistant Professor of Telugu, Presidency College, Madras-5.
3. Dr. C. R. Sarma, Sahitya Academy, Madras.

(6) *Malayalam Literature*

1. Thiru. M. Prabhakara Variyar, Reader, Department of Malayalam, University of Madras.
2. Thiru. K. Unni Kidav, Assistant Professor of Malayalam, Presidency College, Madras-5.

(7) *Kannada Literature*

Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda, Prof. & Head of the Department of Kannada, University of Madras.

The Chairman in his opening remarks emphasised the need for upholding the National Integration in Literature and called upon speakers to read their papers.

TAMIL LITERATURE

DR. N. SANJEEVI

I

The concept of Indian unity is as ancient as it is modern. A close study of ancient Tamil Literature, which is more than two thousand years old,[1] will convince any student of Indian culture that two great factors mainly contribute to the spirit of Indian unity among the ancient Tamils. One is the influence of geography, and the other is the influence of indigenous religions.

Ancient Tamil Literature consists of Ten Idylls, the Eight Anthologies, the Twin Epics and some works in the collection of the Eighteen Minor Works.[2] In these, we find an unmistakable

1 & 2. Dr. M. Varadarajnar's article in 'Indian Literature'—edited by Dr. Nagendra (1959), pp. 10, 13 to 26 and in 'Towards Sarvodaya—A Souvenir'—published by the Govt. of Madras (1956), pp. 86-91.

spirit of Indian unity felt and expressed by ancient Tamiḻ poets quite naturally and with great sincerity.

In ancient Tamiḻ literature we find references to India in many places as 'Nāvalan Tīvu' known in Sanskrit as 'Jambūdvīpa'.[3] The earliest references are found in Perum-pāṇāṟṟuppaṭai,[4] Maturaik-kāñcī,[5] and Paṭṭiṉappālai,[6] three of the Ten idylls and Paripāṭal,[7] one of the Eight Anthologies. The statement of Kaṭiyalūr Uruthirankaṇṇaṉār[8] that the Tamiḻ king Toṇḍaimāṉ Iḷanthirayaṉ, patronised the wandering bards so as to keep his fame in the Nāvalan Tīvu free from decay shows that the concept of Indian unity was well known to ancient Tamiḻ poets.

In the Cankam Anthologies and in the twin epics—Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai—'Nāvalan Tīvu' is described variously as 'the very big island named after Nāval trees';[9] 'Nāvalan Tīvu which is a beautiful cool garden,[10] 'the big old island'[11] and 'the island where the Nāval trees that bear sweet fruits have grown high'.[12]

In Cilappatikāram[13] and Maṇimēkalai,[14] frequent references are found about Nāvalan Tīvu. Chāttanār, the author of Maṇimēkalai, while refering to Tamiḻnāḍu, says: 'Tamiḻnāḍu which is in the Jambū-Dvīpa'. He uses the word 'Jambu' itself in Tamiḻ as 'Campu' (சம்பு).[15]

3. Perum-465; Matu—190—Nac; Pari-5:8; Cila-17:3; 25; 173; Mani-2:1; 6:195; 9:17; 11:107; 15:20; 17:62; 22:29; 25:12; 28:180.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Mani—17:62.

In Maṇimēkalai, there are three references to 'Nāvalan Tīvu' which are very significant in the sense that they express the concept of Indian unity in a subtle manner but with deep emotion. In the first, we find a reference in which it is said that Āputhiran took his birth as the one great personality of this Nāvalan Tīvu of sweet Nāval fruits, and as one worshipped by all the world.[16] In the second reference, we find the Chamberlain of King Puṇyarāja pays a tribute to Maṇimēkalai; he says, 'in the whole of India (Jambūdvīpa), there is not another like this young lady'.[17] The third passage relates to the observation of the chief of palace guard reporting to the King of Kāñcīpuram the arrival in that great city of Maṇimēkalai; he refers to her 'as the eminently holy and the unparalleled one in the whole of Jamūdvīpa'.[18]

That the Nāvalan Tīvu was considered as a great and sacred entity and was revered as God is suggested in some of the references in *Caṅkam* literatures, which state that the Tamiḻ Kings used to go to the north for battle in a perambulating way known to the Tamiḻs as 'Valam varuthal' (Sanskrit: Pradhakṣhiṇa).[19]

II

The concept of Indian unity conceived by the ancient Tamiḻ poets finds expression through a fine technique which can easily captivate the imagination of any citizen of India. The technique is that they couple the Imayam (the Himālayās) in the north and the Kumari (Cape Comorin),[20] the Tirupparaṅkunṟam,[21] the Pothikai mountain,[22] the Koḻḻi mountain,[23] the Āy Family,[24] and

16. *Ibid*—15:20-1.
17. *Ibid*—25:12; Mani-Dr. K. S. Iyengar (1928), p. 181.
18. *Ibid*—28:180; *op. cit.*, p. 202.
19. Puṟa 31:15.
20. Pathi—11:23-5; 43:6-8; Pura 67:6-7; Cila—29: Uraippāṭṭumatai-1.
21. Pari—8:11-6.
22. Puṟa; 2:24; Cila—1:14.
23. Cila—24:133-4.
24. Puṟa—132:4-9.

the city of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam[25] in the South. So also the Gaṅgai (Ganges) was coupled with the Kāviri.[26] Such a technique not only speaks of the great regard the Tamiḻ poets had towards the Imayam and Gaṅgai, but also the spirit of patriotism in making the worthies of south equal to that Imayam and Gaṅgai (the Himālayās and the Ganges).

Further it was necessary for the Tamiḻ poets to employ such a technique mainly for two reasons: One was to explain the ambition of the Tamiḻ Kings to rule all the land between the Imayam and Kumari,[27] and the other was to wish the kings of Tamiḻ land plenty and prosperity.[28] Such a greeting we find in the very first poem of Puṟanāṉūṟu after the invocatory one.[28a]

III

Imayam (the Himālayās), the pride of India, has always received the respect of the Tamiḻ people and poets. It is described as a very big,[29] good,[30] useful[30a] and ancient[31] mountain of great fame,[32] of unassailed[33] high peaks[34] that shine like silver[35] and glitter like gold,[36] and on whose head is the luminance of light.[37]

25. Cila—1:14.
26. Pat—190; Cila—7:2; 25:120.
27. Pathi—11:21; 5; 43:6-10; 51:12-5; Cila—7:2; 29:1-2.
28. Pura—2:24.
28a. *Ibid.*
29. Tiru—253; Pathi—43:6; 51:12; Pura—39, 132, 166, 369, Pari—5:48; 9:1; Kali—38:1-5; Nar—369:7; Cila—29: Uraipaṭṭumaṭai; 26:100, 152; 27:1; 25:168, 183.
30. Ciru—47-9, Perum—429, Aka—265; 1-4.
30a. Cila—5:96.
31. Aka—396.
32. Pathi—11; Aka—396.
33. Pura—39.
34. Pura—39, 369; Aka—265:14.
35. Cila—6:1.
36. Pura—39:14-5; 369:24; Nar—356; Cila—26:253.
37. Perum—429.

Those peaks shoot high above in the sky,[38] appear like smoke as they are covered by snow[39] and are like the flame in smoke.[40] The mountain is in the north[41] as the northern boundary,[42] so as to make the earth unshaky[43] and it does not stir about or become shaky.[44] It is revered as God[45] and is the abode of gods.[46] Tēvar[47] and their ladies, ascetics, Aryars and the Anthaṇars (Brahmins) who perform their evening prayers in front of fire.[51] In this mountain, there are snakes that crawl[52] and Yaks that graze a fragrant grass known as Naranthам.[53] There are also the deer[53a] and swans.[53b] Here the bamboo grows,[54] the streams roll[55] and roar[56] and from it the Gaṅgai flows.[57] Imayam was considered by the ancient Tamiḻ people as a mountain that will never perish as sages live therein,[58] and it is praised as the

38. Pura—132:7; 166:33; 369:23.
39. Pura—6:1; Aka—265:1-4.
40. Aka—265:1-4.
41. Pathi—43; Aka—396; Pura—6:1; 132:7; Cila—29:1; 29:15.
42. Ciru—47; Pathi—43.
43. Pari—9:1.
44. Kali—92:18; Kuru—158:5.
45. Pathi—51:13; Pari—1:48; Cila—29:1.
46. Pathi—43:6-7.
47. Perum—429; Cila—5:97.
48. Nar—356.
49. Cila—25-128; 26:9.
50. Pathi—211; 26:9.
51. Pura—2:21-2; Cila—26:100-2.
52. Pathi—51:13.
53. *Ibid*—11:21-3; Pura—132:4-6.
53a. *Ibid*—2:21.
53b. *Ibid*—67:1, 7; Kali—92:16-9.
54. Pura—166:33.
55. Pathi—11, Pathikam—II; Nar—369:8; Pura—369:23.
56. *Ibid*; Kali—105:74.
57. Nar—369:8-9.
58. Cila—1:14-8.

mountain that is protected by all the three great crowned kings of Tamil Nāḍu.[59]

Among the many references to the Imayam, there cannot perhaps be a more significant reference than the one that is found in the very invocatory song in Paripāṭal, which refers to Imayam as God Himself.[60] The poet, after listing fourteen things[61] in prayerful praise, namely, the Aṛam or Dharma that is protected by the Anthaṇars (Brahmins), mercy to the devotees of God, valour that corrects the wrong, God of enemies, the moon that showers light from the broad sky, the hot sun, the Tirumāl or Viṣṇu who has his bed on the five-headed serpent, the lion, knowledge that it is free from fault and full of goodness, Brahman, the fragrant smell, the clouds, the big sky, the land, in the end says: 'You are the big Imayam', touching the climax of the emotion of the reader. Can there be anything more significant which reveals the sense of reverence that the ancient Tamil poets had about the Imayam?

Are not the above mentioned references in Tamil Literature clear evidences that the people of Tamil Nāḍu who were more than thousand five hundred miles[61a] away from the Himālayās, perceived and praised the greatness of Imayam (the Himālayās) as the symbol of their concept of Indian unity?

In the whole of the Himālayan ranges, Kailai (Mount Kailas) was considered to be very sacred, because it is the abode of God Śiva[62] and the birth place of God Murugan[62a] and that is also the reason why many a reference about the Imayam is found in ancient Tamil Literature. Besides, Imayam finds its place in Purāṇic lore because of its association with Rāvaṇā and because of the story that Śiva used the very Imayam as a bow in his

59. Cila—29:1.

60. Pari—1:48.

61. *Ibid*—1:37-48.

61a. An Advanced History of India—Dr. Majumdar and others—(1946), p. 1.

62. Cila—28:102-3.

62a. Tiru—253-6 ; Pari—5:48-9.

heroic act of burning the Three-Forts. In this context also references are made by the ancient Tamil poets.[63]

It may also be mentioned here that Himālayās was not only considered as the northern boundary of India, but as a great challenge to the kings of Tamil Nāḍu. They felt satisfied only when they imprinted their royal seals such as bow, tiger, and fish on that mountain. Hence the poets took pride in singing the praise of the kings who imprinted their seals on the Imayam.[64] The very word 'Maṟam' (மறம்) meaning heroism meant to Aṭiyārkkunallār, the commentator to Cilappathikāram, that of Tamil king imprinting his royal emblem in the Himālayās.[64a] Also we find in Cilappatikāram how the ambitious Cēra king Ceṅguṭṭuvan was able to take a slab from the Himālayās to make an idol for Kaṇṇaki, the Pathini Goddess, and to bathe it in the Gaṅges.[64b] A Cēra King by name Naṭuñcheralāthan had his title as 'Imayavarampaṉ' meaning one who had as the boundary of his realm the Imayam (the Himālayās) itself.[65] In fact ancient Tamil people and Poets wished their kings to have their victories won even beyond the Imayam.[66] They also considered North as a sacred dirction.[66a]

We also find that the ambition of the Tamil Kings was to rule over the whole of Nāvalan Tīvu (Jambū Dvīpa),[67] which also strengthens the conception that India was considered to be one national entity.

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63. Kali—38:1-5.

64. Ciru—48; Pathi—Pathikam-II: 4; Aka—127:5; 396:17; Pura—39:15; Cila—5:98; 17:1-2; 24:26; 25:2; 25:118; 28:136; 29; Uraippaṭṭumatal; 19; Mani—28:104.

64a. Cila—10 : Katturai—3—Commentary by Ati.

64b. *Ibid*—25:122-30; 27:1-2; 13-6.

65. Pathi—Pathikam-II, III; Cila—26:23; 30:161.

66. Kali—105:75; Cila—1:65-8.

66a. *Ibid*—5:94.

67. Pura—17:1-4; Pathi—11-23-5; 43:7-8; 51:13-5; Cila—17:1-4; 29:1-2.

IV

Like the Himālayās, the Gaṅgai is also referred to in ancient Tamil Literature with deep admiration and reverence. It is portrayed as a big river[68] of very great fame,[69] which has its floods from the many streams that fall from the high, bright and red-coloured Imayam, which is presided over by Dēvas.[70] It is indeed the flood of the Gaṅgai that has evoked all the awe and wonder of the poets and the people. The flood of the Gaṅgai is believed to bring gold,[71] and it is described as one that tends to break its bounds[72] or any other barrier.[73] Hence it is said that it is difficult to cross it,[74] and the people wait to do so by boats in turn.[75] Though the Gaṅgai is described to have heavy floods, yet it is also said that its water is clear,[76] rich[76a] and good.[77] In a very significant passage in Puṟanāṉūṟu Peruñchittiraṉār the poet speaks about how the Gaṅgai is beneficial in supplying drinking water at times of drought with a personal note.[77a] Last but not the least is the beauty of the scene that impressed the poetic mind the merging of the Gaṅgai in the Bay of Bengal. This merging into the sea is described as a thousand face piercing the white waves of the Bay.[78]

There also appears to have been a tradition to treat the water of the Kāviri as that of the Gaṅgai and the sons of the Kāviri (the agriculturists) as the sons of the Gaṅgai.[79]

68. Matu—696; Naṟ—369:9; Cila—25:160: 26:164; 176; 27:14; 29: Uraippaṭṭu.
69. Pathi—Pathikam V:6.
70. Perum—429-31.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Puṟa—161:7; Cila—25:160; 29:1.
73. Naṟ—369:9.
74. Perum—431.
75. *Ibid*—433.
76. Cila—27:23.
76a. *Ibid*—6:28.
77. *Ibid*—27:110.
77a. Pūṟa—161:1-7.
78. Matu—696-7—Commentary by Nac.
79. Cila—10:148—Aṭi.

Two important reasons for the mention of the Gaṅgai in Early Tamiḻ Literature is that it was a proud thing to bathe in the Gaṅgai to attain Puṇyam[80] and to get rid of the evils of sins committed in life.[81]

The Imayam and the Gaṅgai are freely mentioned in the similies of *Caṅgam* poetry.[82] It is an accepted truth that similes and metaphors bespeak many truths about the life and thought of the times of the poet. The way in which the ancient Tamiḻ poets have used the snow-white peaks of the Imayam and the surging waters of the sacred Gaṅgai proves the familiarity of that mountain and that river among the masses of Tamiḻ Nāḍu and at the same time the reverence they demanded from the poets who were the products of the times. In Puṟanāṉūṟu itself we find the Imayam used in about four similes[83] and the Gaṅgai in one simile.[84]

Like the Imayam and the Gaṅgai, Pāṭali, the great city on the bed of the river Sōṇai, also finds its place in the world of similitudes of the ancient Tamiḻ poets.[85]

In ancient Tamiḻ poetry we have sufficient material to believe that the Tamiḻ poets and the people had enough personal knowledge of the physical aspects of India to make them realise the inevitable geographical unity of India. This knowledge they should have acquired because of the many expeditions undertaken by the ancient kings of Tamiḻ Nāḍu and by the pilgrimages undertaken by the religious-minded people to visit the holy places from one country to the other.

Iḷangō Aṭikaḷ, the author of Cilappatikāram, while narrating the story of Vidyādarā arriving at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam (a former sea coast capital which is now in the modern Tanjore District) from the Himālayās, records the route by which he travelled.

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80. Cila—25:160-1.

81. *Ibid*—9:38—Commentary by Arum; 15:56—Commentary by Aṭi.

82. Puṟa—34:20:3; 166:32-5; 214:11-3; 369:23-4; 161:1-7; Naṟ—369:7-10.

83–84. *Ibid.*

85. Kuṟu—75:3-4.

Following is the prose rendering of the relevant portion in Cilappatikāram :—[86]

Once a Vidyādarā hero celebrated, along with his lady-love of the long fish-like eyes, a feast in honour of the god of love, in the extensive, fragrant and flowery grove in shady slope of the silver-peaked Kailāsa. He then realized that it was the day when Indra's festival would commence in the flourishing city of Puhār (Campāpathi) in South India, and he said to his wife, 'We shall go and witness the place where the great Būtam eats the sacrifice offered to it in commemoration of its having carried out Indra's orders to ward off the evil effects of the arrows aimed by hosts of swift-going Asurās against the terror-stricken but best of men, the victorious being Mucukunda, while he was keeping watch, tiger-like over Indra's city.

'My dear coral-mouthed, slender waisted girl, we shall worship Indra, the Lord of Gods'. So saying 'he started showing his lady love the many crested Himālayās, the everflowing Gaṅgas, the city of Ujjain, the Vindhya forests, the Tiruppathi Hills and the Kāviri tracts over-burdened with crops, and finally reached Puhār, enveloped by flowery groves'.

Another example of the knowledge of the various north Indian countries possessed by the ancient Tamiḷ poets may also be cited from Cilappatikāram. This is found in the chapter on 'Indira Viḷavūreḍutta kātai' or the celebration of Indra's festival, where the author lists the various presents received great Çoḷa monarch. He says, "Once Tirumāvaḷavan felt that there was no foe on either side fit to fight with him, and thinking in his thirst for war, that there might be foes in the north, he had an auspicious day chosen for taking out his sword, umbrella and war-drum, and he prayed to his guardian-deity that he might be lucky enough to find an enemy fit to encounter his broad shoulders, and advanced in that direction. Finding the great Himālayās, the residence of gods, as the barrier arresting his further progress, he retreated with pride after engraving his tiger-emblem on its rocky side.

86. Cila—V. R. R. Dikshitar (1939), p. 122-3.

On his return, the king of the great Vacciranāḍu, whose sway extended as the roaring sea (in the east), gave him a pearl canopy as a tribute while the king of Magadha, famous for his sword play, and his former enemy, presented to him an audience-hall (paṭṭimaṇḍapam). The King of Avanti gave him a friendly present of a tall and beautiful arch on the gateway.[87]

Mention may be made here of the fact that the ancient Tamiḻs knew, not only the physical geography but also the human geography of India. This is borne out by the typical references made about the Mōriyar (Mauryās) and Nandar (Nandās) by the poets of ancient Tamiḻ land.[88] That the Tamiḻ kings had good political allies is also borne out by references available in Cilappatikāram.[88a]

VI

The concept of Indian unity was not only in the mind of ancient Tamiḻ poets, but it was deep-rooted in the customs and beliefs of the ordinary people also. We have two typical instances to quote in support of this statement, one from Cilappatikāram and the other from Maṇimēkalai.

Iḷangō Aṭikaḷ, while eulogising the merciful mind of Kōvalan, the hero of Cilappatikāram, through Māḍalan, an anthaṉan (Brahmin) well versed in Vēdas, narrates an incident where we find Kōvalan helping a Brahmin lady whose husband had left for the north to bathe in the Gangai abandoning his wife who had caused the death of a young mongoose.[89]

Kūlavāṇikan Cīthalaicāthanār, while narrating the story of Āputhiraṉ, a very noble character in Maṇimēkalai, through Aṛavaṇa Aṭikaḷ, a great sage, tells us that Cāli, the mother of Āputhiraṉ, and the wife of Abañjikaṉ, a teacher of the Vēdas at Vāranāsi, went astray and being afraid of the consequences in the next

87. Cila p. 114.

88. Aka—251:5; 265:4; Pura—175:6.

88a. Cila—26:163.

89. Cila—15:54-75.

birth for being disloyal to her husband, came down to the South to take bath in the Kumari (Kanyākumari).[90]

To prove that the concept of Indian unity imbued by the Vidyādaras we have enough evidences in Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai, the twin epics. In Cilappatikāram, as mentioned earlier, a Vidyādara started from Mount Kailas in the Himālayās to attend the great festival of Indra at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭṇam,[91] and Sutamathi, the friend of Maṇimēkalai, refers to such visits of Vidyādaras in the epic of Maṇimēkalai.[92]

VII

If, as a matter of fact, anything could have strengthened the concept of Indian unity among the ancient Tamiḻs, it could not be anything other than the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, the indigenous religions of India. In the ancient Tamiḻ Literature, we find the influence of all these religions, and it is also possible to believe that the Vēdic religion had the sway over the rest. We find that the ancient Tamiḻs were quite familiar with the stories of Śivan,[93] Tirumāl,[94] Indiran,[95] Akalikai,[96] Arunthathi[97] and a host of others in Purāṇic lore. Equally was the case with Buddhism and Jainism. This familiarity with the Purāṇic lore of the various gods and sages of all these religions was fully availed of by the talented artists and poets in enriching the art and literature of their age. The truth of this statement can be established beyond any doubt from many passages in the ancient Tamiḻ literature. Suffice it to quote here a few :—

Vēḷvis (Yagas) seem to have been the hall mark of Vēdic religion. In ancient Tamiḻ Nāḍu, Vēḷvi was performed by almost all powerful kings of Cēra, Çōḷa and Pāṇḍya reigns. Since space will not permit to quote them all, it is enough to say that the ancient Tamiḻ kings felt that their ultimate glory on earth did

90. Maṇi—5:37-8.

91. Vide F. N. No. 86.

92. Maṇi—3:26-41.

93 to 97. Vide Index in "Paṭṭum Tokaiyum'—(1958)—Published by S. Rajam, pp. 157-64; 188.

not depend upon their laurels won in the battle-field, but only in the number of Vēlvis (Yāgas) they performed. The great Pāṇḍiyan King Mutukuḍumi Peruvaḷuthi took pride in styling himself as 'Pālyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Peruvaḷuthi' meaning 'the old great Pāṇḍyan King of many Yāgasālas'.[98] We find in a lyric in Puṟanāṉūṟu that the Poet *Nettimaiyār* asked that great king with awe and wonder, 'O king, enemies who came to destroy the strength of your army, but being disabled fell back or the Pillars that you raised in the Yāgasālas—which of them are more in number—the enemies or the pillars?'[99]

In Cilappatikāram, we find that the great national festival which drew the attention of the Vidyādaras even in the Himālayās was the festival of Indra which was celebrated for twenty-eight days.[100] We also find the belief of the people who lived two thousand years ago that the great city of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam would incur woe if the festival of Indra was not celebrated.[101]

With regard to the influence wielded by Jainism and Buddhism, Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai speak volumes. They bear witness not only to the influence of Jainism and Buddhism respectively, but also to the spirit of tolerance that was alive in ancient Tamiḻ Nāḍu, in spite of occasional controversies on matters of religion and philosophy. We find Iḷangō Aṭikaḷ, the prince-monk, depicting with admirable ability and impartiality the characters of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇakl who were Jains,[102] Cēran Chenkuṭṭuvan, brother of the author, a great devotee of Śiva, but who does not refuse to adorn himself with the Prasādam from the Tirumāl (Vishṇu) Temple,[103] Mātavi and Maṇimēkalai, Kōvalaṉ's love and his daughter respectively who were Buddhists,[104] Dēvanthi and

98. Pura—6, 9, 12, 15, 64.
99. *Ibid*—15:21-2.
100. Vide F. N. No. 86.
101. Maṇi—1:18-26.
102. Cila—16:18.
103. *Ibid*—26:55-67.
104. *Ibid*—29:7.

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Māṭalaṉ, friend of Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ respectively, who were Hindu Brāhmins.[105]

From these points, it will not be difficult to understand the cause and effect of the concept of Indian unity on the religious-minded people of ancient Tamiḻakam also.

VIII

Another important factor that must have contributed to the spirit of Indian unity among the ancient Tamiḻs was the existence of different linguistic and cultural groups of people of India in different parts of Tamiḻ Nāḍu engaging themselves in different avocations of life. The Epic Maṇimēkalai gives enough evidence to establish this fact. In the chapter on 'the story of converting the prison house into a home-of-mercy', Cāttaṉār, the poet, describes a 'magnificent maṇṭap which was resplendent with gold, coral, pearls and precious stones, the marvellous joint handiwork of expert diamond-cutters from Magadha, goldsmiths from Mahārashtra, artificers from Avanti, Carpenters from Yavana and skilled carftsmen of the Tamiḻ country.[106] In this context, the words of Cāttaṉār, the author of the epic Maṇimēkalai, who says that 'it was happily done by the work so jointly done by the artists of Magadha, Mahārashtra, and Avanti along with the Tamiḻ artisans are worthy of note. In the same epic, the author speaks about the people of eighteen languages living together at Kāñchipuram in the chapter on 'the story of Maṇimēkalai entering the city of Kāñchipuram'; and this is perhaps the most significant reference to substantiate the point.[107]

IX

It appears that the ancient Tamiḻ poets were not satisfied by the meeting of North and South alone, but they wanted the

105. Cila—9:30-4; 11:57-8.

106. Maṇi—A. Madaviah (1923), p. 96.7; Maṇi—Dr. S. K. Iyengar (1928), p. 159.

107. Maṇi—Dr. G. U. Pope (1911), p. 63; Maṇi—A. Madaviah, p. 138; Maṇi—Dr. S. K. Iyengar, p. 203.

West and the East also to join together. Hence they were always fond of drawing a picture in which we can find things from the four directions mingled together. Here we can have two typical examples to substantiate the point.

In Paṭṭiṉappālai, one of the Ten Idylls, Kaṭiyalūr Uruthirañkaṇṇaṉār, describes the wealth available at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam as follows:[108]

'The Himālayās sends gems and gold, while Kuda hill, sweet sandal-wood and akhil; pearls from the south sea, red coral from the eastern sea'. (The Himālayas is in the north and the Kuda hills is in the west).

In Cilappatikāram, Iḷangō Aṭikaḷ describes how the ladies of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam decorated themsevles in the evening as follows:[109]

'Besides Mātavi, there were others with lily-like eyes who were sleeping blissfully on the bosom of their lovers......But first they put out the fumes of incense made up mixing the white ayir of the western hills with the black agar of the eastern hills, they (still) wore the sandal paste prepared by rubbing the sandal-wood of the southern mountains upon the sandstone of the northern hills......'

We also find that our ancient Tamiḷ poets derived immense pleasure in describing all the four boundaries of India.[110]

X

Thus influenced mainly by the natural forces of geography and spiritual forces of indigenous religions of India and other supplementing factors, such as Sanskrit learning by Anthaṇars (Brahmins) and some of the richer class people like Kōvalaṉ[111] the concept of Indian unity was an accepted reality among the

108. Paṭ—J. V. Chelliah (1946), p. 34.

109. Cila—V. R. R. Dikshithar, p. 107.

110. Matu—70-1; Pathi—51:12-5; Pura—6:1-4; 17:1-2.

111. Cila—15:70.

ancient Tamil poets and people. This was so even though the ancient Tamil kings had their political enemies in the north and fought against them frequently and successfully.[112]

In conclusion, it may be said that if literature is meant not merely for aesthetic pleasure, but for the inspiration of noble ideas and lofty ideals, then it can be said with pride and pleasure that the ancient Tamil Literature is full of the concept of Indian unity and we may hear the message not only with interest but also with profit, particularly at a time, when great stress is laid on the emotional integration of India by our national leaders.

Note on Abbreviations:

Aṭi—Aṭiyārkkunallār's commentary; Aka—Akanāṉūṟu; Cila—Cilappatikāram; Ciṟu—Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai; Kali—Kalithokai; Kuṟu—Kurunthokai; Matu—Maturaikkāñchī; Maṇi—Maṇimēkalai; Nac—Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary; Naṟ—Naṟṟiṇai; Pari—Paripāṭal; Paṭ—Paṭṭiṇappālai; Pathi—Pathiṟṟuppattu; Perum—Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai; Puṟa—Puṟanāṉūṟu; Tiru—Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.

Dr. S. V. SUBRAMANIAN

Literature in any language speaks in general about human life. It reflects the thoughts of the society and looks forward to the betterment of the world, the whole human race in total. Didactic works and the ethical aspects of Literature are never chained to a particular sect of people, country or language. The broader outlook in them brings about a unity unattained through other means.

The question of Integration arises only when there are forces of non-integration. India was ruled by many kings and numerous chieftains from the very beginning long before the Christian Era, upto the invasion by the foreigners. The country which was broken up among many petty kings and Zamindars was brought together

112. Puṟa—31:17.

under one Government only during the British rule, and the same was called India. This unity and oneness is kept up till today, though Indian Union is made up of different linguistic states with fifty crores of people having diverse culture. Inspite of these differences and diversities, the National epics namely Rāmāyaṇa and Mahā Bhāraṭha, available in all the ṭhousand dialects of the country bear witness ṭo an undercurrent of social and Cultural Unity hardly to be severed. The long and rich heritage of our Pan-Indian culture and civilizaṭion is well manifest in ṭhe present day society whether in Kashmir or in Kanyākumari.

The concept of Universal broṭherhood is seen ingrained in the hearṭs of the Tamils from the very early period. 'Every country is my country and every man my kinsman' is a unique phrase revealing ṭheir basic philosophy of such concept. Whatever ṭhey thought, they thought in terms of humanity in general. The usages, 'Ulakam Uvappa' (as ṭhe world rejoices) 'Yāṉpeṟṟa iṉpam peṟuka ivvaiyakam' (Let the world share this bliss of mine) etc., show and stress ṭhe continuation of ṭhis concept of Universaliṭy through ṭhe literary periods. Affinity and interest in one's racial progress is less amiable ṭhan that in one's national uplift. Still higher form of affinity is one whereby one's outlook is so broadened as ṭo accommodaṭe the whole of human race as one community without caring about ṭhe differences due ṭo colour, creed, race or naṭion. The one who is human may be accepted as 'of the whole universe'. The one who is not human and who is narrow minded restricts his ouṭlooks and saṭisfies in calling himself Indian or Tamilian.

The Literary tradition of the Tamils from ṭhe first millennium of B.C. conṭinues to flow as a perennial river susṭaining the literary beds on either banks. There are many instances in our literature that speak of ṭhe unity of the human race ṭhroughouṭ ṭhe world. These reveal not only an interest in the idea of one nationality but beyond that an inṭeresṭ in Universal brotherhood iṭself. Though they might not have dealt wiṭh ṭhe subject in our

present view, they speak of the whole world, though they lived in a very small area ruled by Tamil Kings.[1]

The Literatures of this long period, differ in their general subject matter. The Sangam Lyrics, the epics, the Didactive works, the Devotional Literature, the minor poems, etc. show a variety of Literary aspects. But all of them deal with the basic human qualities of man and society and their unity. Though there are instances of religious upheavels and protests in the History and Literature of the Tamils, the betterment of human society has always been the aim and theme of Tamil Literature.

There are many instances[2] in Saṅgam Literature where the frontiers of Tamil land was indicated as the Himālayas in the North and the Cape in the South. The poets felt the need for such unified landseape.

தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல்
குணகுட கடலாவெல்லை
குன்றுமலை காடுநாடு
ஒன்றுபட்டு வழிமொழிய .....புறம். 17. 1-4.

Very many instances in Saṅgam Literature refer to people of neighbouring countries and foreign lands and people.

In Tamiḻ Naḍu due to the trade relationship[3] with other countries, people of different languages and regions settled together and lived happily. This shows a harmony in the mentality of the people in forming a compact society.

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1. அ. உலகம் காக்கும் ஒன்றுபுரி கொள்கை
   பலர் புகழ் மூவரும் தலைவராக...முருகு. 161-162.
   ஆ. மலர் தலை உலகத்து மன்னுயிர் காக்கும்
   முரசு முழங்கு தானை மூவருள்ளும்...பெரும். 32-33.
2. தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல்
   குணகுட கடலா வெல்லை
   தொன்று மொழிந்து தொழில் கேட்ப...மது. 70-72.
3. நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்
   காலின் வந்த கருங்கறி மூடையும்

மொழிபல பெருகிய பழிதீர் தேஎத்துப்
புலம்பெயர் மாக்கள் கலந்தினி துறையும்
முட்டாச் சிறப்பின் பட்டினம்......பட். 216-218

To have a better mutual understanding, the Arya King Brahatattan liked to know the culture and civilisation of the Tamils. Kapilar composed Kuṛiñchippāṭṭu for this purpose. The genesis of this poem speaks for itself as an integral force among the Indian communities.

In Thirukkuṛaḷ also such integration is stressed. The learned, the literate will be naturally broad minded to consider the whole world as one.[4] In a very broader sense, the kuṛaḷ mentions human integration as the final integration of integrations:

ஒத்ததறிவான் உயிர்வாழ்வான் மற்றையார்
செத்தாருள் வைக்கப் படும்.

Cilappadikāram refers Cēran Cenkuttuvan's going to the North to bring a sacred stone for the Pattini idol. He makes friendship with some of the north Indian kings and accepts gifts from them. Māṭalaṉ, a character in Cilampu makes a pilgrimage from the cape to the Ganges. This shows an accord between the South and the North, both politically and religiously.

Rāmā, the hero of the epic Rāmāyaṇa, makes friendship with different peoples of different regions without feeling any difference. He has himself forged a unity between all peoples from Ayodya in the North and Lanka in the South.

He meets Guhan, the lord of the hunters (tribe) on the banks of the Ganges. There he is too generous to receive and accept Guhan as his brother. Similarly Sugrīva the king of Kishkinta was also accepted as one of his brothers, as he goes to the south in

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வடமலைப் பிறந்த மணியும் பொன்னும்
குடமலைப் பிறந்த ஆரமும் அகிலும்
தென்கடல் முத்தும் குணகடற் றுகிரும்
கங்கை வாரியுங் காவிரிப் பயனும்
ஈழத் துணவும் காழகத் தாக்கமும்...பட். 185-191.

4. யாதானும் நாடாமா லூராமா லென்னொருவன்
சாந்துணையும் கல்லாத வாறு......(397)

search of Sita. The same feeling he had towards the prince of Śri Lanka, viz., Vibhishna. Though they belong to three different regions and three different races, he accepts them all as members of his own family. Thus the epic Rāmāyaṇa serves as a superb example of real and practical mode of National Integration.

> குகனொடும் ஐவரானோம் முன்பு; பின் குன்று சூழ்வான்
> மகனொடும் அறுவர் ஆனோம்; எம்முழை அன்பின் வந்த
> அகன் அமர் காதல் ஐய நின்னொடும் எழுவர் ஆனோம்
> புகல் அருங் கானம் தந்து, புதல்வரால் பொலிந்தான் நுந்தை–6507.

Under the foreign yoke, India was kept together. This union was the result of administration and so more or less physical. But when the people looked forward to freedom, there was necessity for a complete unity. So the whole India united against the British Rule and the Freedom struggle gave a political shape to the already inherent spirit of Unity, sustained thereto by forces like religion and culture.

The rally of freedom fighters like Thilak, Mothilal Nehru, Gandhi, Gokale, Bose, Va. Vu. Ci, Sathiamoorthy, Kamaraj, Bhakthavatcalam etc. under one banner symbolised the integral nature of the Indian People. This idea of Integration is reflected in the Bhārathi's works as he sings the praise of most of them.

In Tamil Literature, only Bhārathi's works explicitly bring out the idea of National Integration.

> ஒன்றுபட்டால் உண்டு வாழ்வே—நம்மில்
> ஒற்றுமை நீங்கில் அனைவர்க்கும் தாழ்வே.

Because Bhārathi was born when India was still a colony of the British and as he had the fervour to emancipate it, he used his poetic skill to gain his end.

Bhārathi is very clear in his poems that India is one and all are brotheren. Though there are many languages spoken by the people their thought is one. Though there are many millions of faces they are all animated by the same spirit. This is unity in diversity:

முப்பது கோடி முகமுடையாள் உயிர்
மொய்ம்புற வொன்றுடையாள்;
செப்பு மொழி பதினெட்டுடையாளெனில்
சிந்தனை யொன்றுடையாள்.

The oneness in the thought of all the millions of people is stressed again and repeated often. He wants the feeling in People that India is ours. 'எங்கள் பாரத தேச மென்று தோள் கொட்டுவோம்' 'மன்னும் இமயமலை யெங்கள் மலையே...' 'பாரத பூமி பழம்பெரும் பூமி நீரதன் புதல்வர் நினைவகற்றுதீர்'.

He integrates the country in such a way that no difference is considered between people of various languages and regions and products and produce of various parts of the country. Thus he looks forward to a social union and give and take policy to develop among all. Bridging the gulf between India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Promoting foreign trade; Increasing export of Gold and other mined materials; Sale of South Indian Silks and clothes all over the world; Exchange of wheat of the Ganges plain for the betel leaves of Kaviri region—thus strengthening internal trade. Using of excess water from the rivers of Bengal to cultivate the drier areas of Central region. Rewarding the lion-like Maratta poets with Ivory tusks from the Cēra country and giving the prized gold of Karnātaka to the priceless warriors of Rajputana—all these show his interest in National Integration. He links the South and the North in a very Poetic style—a link which is highly nourishable.

சிந்து நதியின் மிசை நிலவினிலே
சேர நன்னாட்டிளம் பெண்களுடனே
சுந்தரத் தெலுங்கினில் பாட்டிசைத்துத்
தோணிக ளோட்டி விளையாடிவருவோம்

All the people living under the Indian roof are considered by him as equals. All are of one caste; all belong to one creed. All are citizens of this country is his call to the Indian race:

எல்லாரும் ஓர்குலம் எல்லாரும் ஓரினம்
எல்லாரும் இந்திய மக்கள்
எல்லாரும் ஓர் நிறை; எல்லாரும் ஓர்விலை
எல்லாரும் இந்நாட்டு மன்னர்

When he speaks of freedom, Poet Bhārathi not only thinks of the high class and the learned—but of the whole multitude. The deliverence is intended for the Paṛayas, Pulaiyas, Paravas, Kuṛavas, Maṛavas and all. Not only freedom but also the necessity of education and a worthy, decent livelihood is urged for them all. Thus the building up of a country on equality in all respects, eradicating poverty and slavery, equal rights for women is dreamed of:

பறையருக்கும் இங்கு தீயர்
    புலையருக்கும் விடுதலை
பரவ ரோடு குறவ ருக்கும்
    மறவ ருக்கும் விடுதலை......
....
ஏழை யென்றும் அடிமை யென்றும்
    எவனும் இல்லை ஜாதியில்
இழிவு கொண்ட மனிதரென்பது
    இந்தி யாவில் இல்லையே
வாழிகல்வி செல்வம் எய்தி
    மனம கிழ்ந்து கூடியே
மனிதர் யாரும் ஒருநிகர்
    சமான மாக வாழ்வமே
மாதர் தம்மை இழிவு செய்யும்
    மடமையைக் கொளுத்துவோம்......
....

When Bhārathi sings the praise of the National flag of India—the Royal banner of Bhāratha Mātā, he brings together the warriors from various corners of India. The basic aim of them is to safeguard and worship the banner with all alertness and vigil and to defend the country as a whole. The higher qualities of each warrior are depicted in these lines. These show that no person is lower to another, but every one is equal as all of them have a single aim as his ultimate end. The Soldiers of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, the Maṛavas of great valour, the guards of Cēra country, the Telugus who are above others in moral strength, the Tulus who worship the Mother, the Kannadas and others who never fear to face Death in the war front, the Mallas of Hindustan who stand as if they are Gods from the Golden City, the Rajput warriors

whose greatness stands unchallanged to the end of the world—to the very last memory of warfare and till chastity lasts, the fighters of Punjab, the people of the country of Arjuna, the Bengalis who never forget to serve the mother land even when in slumber–All these are brought together in a song signifying his integral view of India as one nation.

THIRU. M. ARUNACHALAM

The Concept of Integration:

The title of this paper is 'Integration through Tamiḻ Literature'. Today we are in the unfortunate predicament of always having to harp upon National Integration—Integration through Literature, through Education, through Art, through Religion etc. If this title were to be mentioned in the Tamiḻ Nāḍu of 2000 years ago, it would have provoked a laughter from learned people. In that period, the period of the First, Second and the Third Saṅgam, the whole land from the Himālayās in the north to the Kumari as the southern–most point was considered by the people, as one land. Integration has meaning where there are more than one. But when the whole area was thought of as one, where does the question of integration come in? There was only an integrated, unified, one country in the remote past.

Let us now turn to a few lines from the literature of the period.

Māṅguḍi Marudan was a great poet of the Saṅgam period. Pāṇḍiyan Nedunceḻiyaṉ, who won early in his life the battle against the Sēran Māndaram Sēral Irumpoṟai, was his patron. The king held him in very great esteem (verse 72 of *Puṟanāṉūṟu*). The poet has sung his long poem *Maduraik–kāñji* praising the king and also pointing out to him the transience of human existence. The poem has the following lines:

> May you become chief among the victors
> Who command the services of all those that live
> Between the Kumari in the south and
> the Great Mountain in the north
> And between the sea in the east and in the west,

We see here the whole of India encompassed within the modern boundaries as one country. This reveals to us the fact that the entire country was one. Nowhere in the literature do we find any partition. Of course we have also the tradition of 56 states in India ruled by different rulers, who were always fighting with one another.

This did not mean that the whole country had been parcelled out into different states. Just as we have different districts under one state, there were then different *rājyas* with different languages and different rulers. But the whole country was one, with a common culture, common civilization and common goals and aspirations, and common ways of life, and recognized by the people themselves as one.

When we say that the whole country was one, there were sources for the unification in the north and in the south. Just as Delhi is the political centre of attraction today for all people of the south, and probably Tirupati as the temple of Bālāji is the centre of attraction for people of the north, there were great centres of attraction in the north and in the south for the people. The centres in the north have been the Himālayās, the Ganges and the religious centre Kāsi; centres in the south had been the Kumari and the Sētu. We shall say here a few words on the influence of these as gleaned through Tamiḻ Literature.

The Lure of the Himālayās:

The greatest forces which are drawing people from the South to the North are the Himālayās including Mount Kailas, which has now been taken over by the Chinese, the Ganges and the city of Benaras (Kāsi). Even in the modern day, an enlightened soul in the person of Swami Śivānanda has gone to the Himālayās at Riṣikēṣ and established his monastery and spiritual centre there to propagate his spiritual culture and experience. The attraction of the Himālayās has always been there from the remote past. Our rulers, the Cēra, Çōḷa and Pāṇḍiya vie with one another in saying that they went up to the Himālayās and carved on its rocks their insignia. Many poets including saints

speak of these feats. An expedition to the Himālayās seems to have been the dream of the rulers. Karikāl Çōḷa has been hailed as the first monarch from the Tamiḷ country who went up to the Himālayās and engraved his insignia, the Tiger, on the rocks. 'The Pāṇḍiya who engraved on the Himālayās his insignia, the 'Fish' says Periyāḻvār; '*Paruppatattuk kayal poṛitta Pāṇḍiyar kulapati*' (5.4.7).

The third canto *Vañjikkāṇḍam* in *Silappadhikāram* is the story of the Cēra monarch Senkuṭṭuvan who took out an expedition to the Himālayās to secure a stone for making an image for Kaṇṇaki and to the Ganges for getting water from it for anointing the newly built temple for Kaṇṇaki. The poet Iḷango gives a detailed account of the expedition. Then again, we have the historical account of the expedition of the Çōḷa Emperor Rajendra I (1012–1044) to the Ganges to obtain water there for anointing the new temple at Gangaikoṇḍa Çōḻapuram. This is a historical fact recorded in all the eulogistic prefaces (*meykkīrtti*) of the King in all his inscriptions. These give in detail the route of the King, the princes with whom he fought, the rulers befriended by him and so on. These will indicate that an expedition to the North was a must with all the monarchs of the ancient and the medieval periods.

The fragrant sandal has always been considered a produce of the south, or the *Podiyil* hill and it has been deemed to be special to the Pāṇḍiya. But poems indicate that the sandal also thrived on the Himālayās. *Puṛanānūṛu* (380) refers to the sandal from the Himālayās which was smeared on the body by a warrior of Nānjil nāḍu, the southern extremity of the country. *Ahanāṉūṛu* also mentions the sandal brought by the people from the north. These would indicate that there was nothing like the north or the south and that, in the conception of the poets, the whole land—from the Himālayās to cape Comorin—was one land.

This is borne out by a large number of statements in the Sañgam poetry. Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar, hailed as the poet of the First Sañgam, has a verse in *Puṛanānūṛu* (2). There he says: "May you stand firm like the Himālayās and the Podiyil

hill'. Kāri kiḻār speaks of a Pāṇḍiya (6): 'May your glory extend north beyond the Himālayās, far south beyond the Kumari, far east beyond the eastern sea (modern Bay of Bengal), far west beyond the ancient western sea (Arabian Sea), far below the bottom of the sea, and far above the heavens'. Here we see him considering the area Himālayās to Kumari as one unit. To the sweep of Pisir Āndaiyār, the whole is one country (67). His swan picks at the loach fish in Kumari and speeds to the Himālayās. Another poet (34) mentions the east wind gathering clouds on the Himālayās and bringing the down-pour in the Çoḻa country. Poet Muḍamōśi says, 'as long as there is the Himālayā range in the north and the patron Āy's tribe in the south, what is there to fear? Śakti, consort of Śiva the Supreme God of the Śaivas, is known in the purāṇās as the daughter of Himavān. The Kenōpanishad mentions Her in the name of Uma.

The Lure of the Ganges:

The River Ganges no doubt starts in the Himālayās, flows through Prayāg and Benaras in Uttar Pradesh and joins the sea in Bengal; but the whole of India claims it as its own. In Tamiḻ Nāḍu in particular, any sacred tank or river is Ganga. For a temple *kumbhābhiṣēka* the Ganges water is procured; people keep a small pot of the water (sealed) in their daily *pūja*. They bring the Ganges water for all auspicious purposes in the home and in the temple and also for funeral purposes in the home. Final obsequies are made with Ganga water and the bones of the dead are carefully taken to the Ganga and consigned to it with due rituals. It may be remembered that final oblations to the departed soul are often performed in three places-Prayāg, the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, the Maṇikarṇika ghat in Benaras, and Gaya. In Gaya again they are done in the Phālguna river, the Viṣṇupāda and at the root of Vaṭavrikṣa (the sacred banyan tree).

The hymns of the Nāyanmārs say that all the sacred waters of the important rivers are present in the Mahāmagham tank at Kumbakōṇam in the Tanjāvūr district on the Mahāmagham day

once in twelve years in the month of Māsi (February-March). This Kumbakōṇam *mēḷa* is the counterpart of the famous *Kumbha mēḷā* of Prayāg, important to the whole of North India.

The tradition is that all the sacred waters of all the rivers in India appear in a confluence in the Mahāmagham tank here on this day and therefore a bath here on this occasion is the most meritorious in a life time. St. Appar says that Kāḷindi, Ganga, Yamuna, Gōdāvari, Sarasvati, Gōmati, Kumari and other rivers go to this day (Book 5, song 22). This is an instance of the north coming to the south.

The Ganga seems to be so familiar in the thoughts of our people in the past that it easily occurs in poetic expressions. Giving an analogy for the *maruṭpā*, a type of verse, in which the first few lines occur as the *veṇbā* lines and the last few as the *asiriyappā* lines, an unknown grammatical writer says that this combination is like the *sangama* (confluence) of Gangā and Yamunā (citation in the *Yāpparunkala virutti*).

St. Appar calls the river Ghaṭilam the southern Gangā (4.10.6)—'Ten disai Gangai eṉappaḍum Gaṭila vāṇarē'.

For the Hindu, all waters are Ganga; be it the well, the tank or the river, he thinks of it only as the Gangā, the purifier of everything internal and external. The *mantra* which makes the water into the holy waters of the seven rivers had already been mentioned. All temple tanks, because they are considered sacred, have been given the name *Śivagangā*. More particularly in the Tamiḻ Nāḍu, there is an identification of the Gangā and the Kāvēri. The farmers generally called the children of the Gangā, are also called children of the Kāvēri without any distinction.

It is interesting to note what an amount of familiarity the poets express with the Ganges. Perumcitiranār who goes to get some presents from his patron Kumaṇan says that he is like the floods in the Ganges overflowing the banks in the severe summer to enable all creatures to appease their thirst. The poet probably knows that most of the Tamiḻ Nāḍu rivers will be dry in summer and so he goes to the distant Ganges for an analogy. Anyway,

his knowledge of the river is indeed interesting. St. Appar says that if one is not able to perceive the All pervasive nature of God, what does it matter if he bathes in the Ganges, the Kāvēri or the Holy sea?

Our poets are able to speak of both the Ganges and the Kāvēri in the same breath. Toṇḍaraḍip-poḍi āḻvār would have it that the Kāvēri is holier than the Gangā, because the island of Lord Ranganātha is not in the middle of the Gangā, but only in the middle of the Kāvēri.

The Lure of Kāsi:

Kāsi and Sētu have been the source of the greatest religious attraction for people throughout India at all times. Kāsi has been known as *Vāranāsi*, the city lying between the confluences of the two tributaries Varuṇa and Asi with the Ganges at the west and at the east. In this name it is celebrated in many Tamiḻ classics like *Maṇimēkhalai*. A verse in the *Kalittokai* (60) says that compassion, that is, identifying oneself with another in his suffering, is a characteristic of the people of Benaras. What a glorious tribute!

We find a prince of the Pāṇḍiya dynasty in the 16th century writing a large purāṇa on Kāsi. *Kāsikāṇḍam* by Adhivīrarāma Pāṇḍiya, a well known literary figure, sings the glory of Kāsi in a few thousand verses. The glory of Kāsi has also been sung as a similar purāṇa in the last century by Mahāvidwān Mīnākṣhi-sundaram Piḷḷai.

Many shrines in the south have been given the name Kāsi, for example, Kāḷahasti is Dakṣiṇa Kāsi and Vriddhācalam is Vriddha kāsi (the aged Kāsi). The *purāṇas* of the places written in the 16th and 17th centuries glorify these names.

Again it is history that the city and the temple at Tenkāsi in the far south were named after Kāsi. The Pāṇḍiyas who fled from Madurai on the onslaught of the Muhammedan forces in the early 14th century stationed themselves here and in the next

century, King Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1422-62) enlarged the temple and beautified it with sculpture and architecture.

The ambition of all the Hindus in the past was of course the liberation from all earthly bonds and the attainment of *mukti*. The popular Tamiḻ saying mentions a few places. One will attain *mukti* by being born in Tiru Ārur or by having a *darśan* at Chidambaram, or by dying at Kāsi. We know many persons tried to come by their end at Kāsi by going and living there at the end of their lives; a few did of course die there. Even today we have the custom of consigning the ashes of dead persons to the Ganges at Benaras as the second best possible.

The Lure of Sētu and Kumari:

Similarly Sētu. Persons in the north even today have the feeling that they can attain salvation only if they have a dip in the Sētu at Ramēsvaram, which is as important as the Ganges. We find hundreds of people from the north crowding railway trains and going to Sētu, braving all travel discomforts and food changes. But for the feeling of oneness and integration in the Hindu society, this sort of pilgrimages can never take place. Sētu is the place where Rama in the past had installed a linga in his name as Rāmaliṅga to expiate the sin of slaying the Śiva bhaktā, Rāvaṇa. To the people of the North, Śiva enshrined in the temple here is as important to them as Visvanātha at Kāsi.

Niramba Aḻagiya Dēśikar who writes a large *purāṇam* for Sētu forgets even his sectarianism and says that one should worship both Śiva and Viṣṇu and should utter the *nāma mantrās* of both. The very thought of Ramēsvaram brings about this integration.

A fact of history may be recalled here in connection with Rāmēsvaram. By about 1640 A.D., Ramappaiyan, *Dalavāy* of Tirumalai Nāyak, ruler of Madurai, had defeated Sadaikkan Sētupati, ruler of Ramēsvaram and taken him prisoner. He was languishing in prison and naturally the temple administration at Ramēsvaram the great pilgrim centre had deteriorated. The *bairagis* from the North who visited the temple went to Tirumalai Nāyak,

interceded with him on behalf of Sadaikkan Sētupati and secured his release. When Sētupeti returned to Ramēsvaram, the administration was set right and the *bairāgis* were once more enabled to offer their worship there in a satisfactory manner.

'Ā-Sētu Himāchalam' is a proverbial saying, which is intended to comprise the entire country from the Sētu to the Himālayās. Antahakkavi Vīrarāghava Mudaliyar, the blind poet of the 17th century, mentions this phrase in an epistolatory verse of his: 'Ima Sētu pariyantam ediriläk kavi Vīrarāghavan'—Poet Vīrarāghava who has no equal in the land lying between the Himālayās and the Sētu.

In the ancient past we know from literature that Kumarī was considered an important Tīrtta.

Maṇimēkhalai tells the story of a brahmin woman of Benaras who sinned against her husband. In order to rid herself of the sin, she goes to the Kumari in the south for a sea-bath.

Integration Through the Tamiḻ Hymns:

The Nāyanmārs in Śaivism and the Āḻvārs in Vaiṣṇavism have sung a number of hymns on their respective deities enshrined in important temples not only in Tamiḻ Nāḍu but also in the north (outside the Tamiḻ Nāḍu). Tirupparuppatam (Mallikārjunam) is in the Andhra Pradesh. Even in the days of the Nāyanmārs it was outside Tamiḻ Nāḍu. It is remarkable that all the three Nāyanmārs have sung hymns on this shrine. They have sung hymns on Kēdāram and Kailas. Other shrines on the Himālayās sung by them such as Indranila Parvata and Anēkatangāvatam are unidentified. They have also mentioned Benaras.

The Āḻvārs also have sung hymns on a number of shrines in the north. Singavēḻkunṟam, Ayodhya, Muttra, Dvāraka and Badarikāśramam are such places outside the Tamiḻ area. Dēvaprayāg, Nandaprāyag, Sāḻagrāmam and Tiru Āyppāḍi are other places sanctified by their hymns.

These also indicate that in the conception of the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike, the whole country was one land and the Hima-

layās and the other places are as much our own as are the places in the Tamil Nāḍu.

Then we have the story of St. Appar trying to go to Kailās, the divine abode of Śiva. His limbs were worn out by walking; he tried to walk on his hands, on his head and lastly by his body. All were worn out and finally Śiva gave him a *darśan*. This shows that a vision of the holy Kailās is the ambition of all the devotees.

Śankara and Rāmānuja went to north as ambassadors of culture in the spheres of philosophy and religion. Their impact had helped the growth of a large crop of saints and God-intoxicated people to rise and spread the message of devotion to God in the whole of North India. The story of Āṇḍāḷ and her songs made possible the evolution of a kindred spirit and saint in the person of Mīra. Her life in the royal palace is like the life of Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi in the Pāṇḍiya royal household in the 7th century and her songs are almost a paraphrase of the songs of Āṇḍāḷ of the 8th century. Chaitanya, Ramdas and Kabirdās are very popular in Tamil Nāḍu. Chaitanya, is said to have toured Tamil Nāḍu, as also Tulasi dās. Tulasi dās had heard the Kambar version of the Rāmāyaṇa at Rāmēsvaram to which place he went on a pilgrimage and this was responsible for the variance of his great book from the original of Vālmīki.

The integration which Saint Sēkkiḻār seeks to emphasize through his Periyapurāṇam, the Saiva Hagiology, is something unique in the annals of any literature. Here we find devotees like Nēsa Nāyanār from not only Tamil Nāḍu, but from other areas. Sēramān Perumāḷ from the West Coast and Kaṇṇappa from Kāḷahasti hailed from areas which are now in the Kerala State and the Andhra Pradesh. There are princes and crowned monarchs like Neḍumāṛan, Sēramān, Puhaḷ Çoḷa, Kōccengatçōḷa and Kaḻal Singa pallava; men of the lowest caste like Nandanār and Nīla-Kaṇḍa Yāḻppāṇa; women like Kāraikkāl Ammai and Mangaiyarkkarasi; many Brahmins are there as also many artisans; there are also children like Jñānasambandha, Sīrāḷā, and Singaḍi and Vanappahai whom Ṣundara adopted as his daughters. There are

brahmacharis like Caṇḍīśa, householders in a large number, and ascetics like Appar. Sēkkiḻār can thus be said to be the first important epic writer to strive for a national integration, both along a vertical line and also along a horizontal section.

Integration Through Epics—The Rāmāyaṇa :

Both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata appear to have a close relationship to the Tamiḻ Nāḍu. Vālmīki mentions Kapāṭapuram, in the words of Sugrīva when he instructs Hanumān and the other *Vānarās* in the matter of the search for Sīta. He says that in front of the *Malaya* mountain they will see the sage Agastya. With his permission they will cross the River Tamraparṇi and see the wonderful garden city of Kavātapuram studded with pearls and gems :

> Tato hēmamayam divyam muktāmaṇi vibhūṣitam
> Yuktam Kavāṭam Pāṇḍyānām gatā drakṣyatha Vanarāh.

Some would say that Kavāṭam simply means 'the jewelled gates of the capital city of the Pāṇḍiyas'. But Govindarāja the commentator of Vālmīki identifies this with Kapāṭapuram the capital city of the Pāṇḍiyas at the period of the Second Tamiḻ Academy. This indicates also the familiarity of the people of the north with the cities and their greatness in the south.

The greatest epic of all time in the Tamiḻ language is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar. He acknowledges the original in Vālmīki. But we have some fragmentary verses from a Rāmāyaṇa which existed even before Kambar; here we find some incidents not found in Vālmīki or Kambar. It is indeed remarkable that probably by the first millennium after Christ, the Rāmāyaṇa episodes were very well-known in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. Some of them however had been forgotten later.

The Mahābhārata :

Then the Mahābhārata. The Tamiḻ Nāḍu had fully involved itself with the epic story. Contemporarily with the events of the story, Muranjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar sings the second verse of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* in praise of Sēramān Perum Sōṟṟu Udiyan Sēralātan, a contemporary ruler. He says: 'Oh! great king, you fed ungrudg-

ingly the fighting warriors when the Hundred Kauravās fell in their deadly fight with the Five Pāṇḍavās'. This is quite a unique statement. In the battle known as the great Mahābhārata war, all the rulers of the different states of India took sides, some siding the Pāṇḍavās and some siding the Kauravās, but evidently the Cēra monarch did not join either side, but remained neutral. He took upon himself the task of feeding the fighting forces till the end of the war. This appears to be some kind of benevolent action of humanitarianism like that done nowadays by the International Red Cross. We are not concerned here with the benevolent aspect but with the aspect of entanglement of a ruler and his resources at the far southern end of the peninsula with the struggle that went on in the far north. We see here that the land was one although divided piece meal under different rulers and that everyone had an involvement in the major happenings everywhere else.

This narration is not mere fiction. *Silappadhikāram* of a later day mentions the fact that the Cēra actually fed the warring princes. It was called *perumśōṟu,* a sumptuous feast. By virtue of this feeding, the king himself has come to be designated as the Sēramān, Perum Sōṟṟu Udiyan Sēralātan.

The *Mahābhārata* had been translated a number of times into the Tamiḻ language. Two poets of the name of Perundēvanār, living perhaps in the 8th and the 9th centuries have been given the title 'He who sang the Bhārata'. The first is remembered today by his invocatory verses composed for the *Eṭṭut-Tohai*, Eight Anthologies; his *Bhāratam* translation is not available. The second Perundēvanār again wrote the *Bhāratam* in Tamiḻ in the middle of the next century (9th century) under the patronage of Nandivarma Pallava III, but only about 830 of his 10,000 *venba* verses are available today. In the 13th century again Aruḷnilai Visākan wrote a translation under the royal patronage of Kulōttunga Çōḻa III; but it is not available. The inscription says that after writing the Bhārata, he followed the path-way to Śiva. The large work of Villiputhūrār again is the next translation, done in the 14th century upto 10 *parvās*; his son completed the remaining 8 but that portion is not available. Villi's *Bhāratam* was again

elaborated into 16 thousand verses by Nallāppiḷḷai and Murugēsa Kavirāyar in the 18th century. *Pañcāli Sapadam* by Bhārati is a revolutionary version of the episode in the Mahābhārata done in the background of the Indian struggle for Independence.

Not only the Mahābhārata. Many episodes therefrom have been done into classical epic type poetry by eminent poets. *Naḷaveṇba* and *Naiḍatam* deal with the story of Naḷa; *Harichandra purāṇa* with the story of Harichandra; and *Purūrava charitai* with the story of Purūravas, all taken from the Mahābhārata. Thus we find the *Mahābhārata* had the greatest attraction in Tamiḻ Nāḍu.

The Bhāgavata:

The Bhāgavata purāṇa in the two languages, Sanskrit and Tamiḻ, has been a great integrating force. The purāṇa narrates elaborately the stories of Krishna who is the *Bhagavān*, and incidentally it narrates the stories of the other *avatārs* also. There are many versions of the *Bhāgavata* and two of them have been translated in verse in Tamiḻ in the 16th century. Two features of the purāṇās deserve our attention here.

The purāṇās (Sanskrit) were evidently written after the Āḻvārs had appeared in Tamiḻ Nāḍu and had swept the entire country in the waves of *bhakti* generated by their devotional hymns known as the Nālāyirap-prabandham. The Eleventh *Skanda* of the Purāṇa has an interesting statement: 'Only those who have drunk deep of the waters of *Tāmraparni*, *Krtamālā* (*Vaigai*), *Pālāṟu*, *Kāvēri* of great merit and the *Periyār* flowing west, will be moved by devotion to Vāsudēva:

Kvacit kvacit, mahārāja,
  Dramidēṣu ca bhuriśaḥ
Tāmraparṇī nadī yatra
  Kṛtamālā Payasvinī
Kāvērī ca mahāpuṇyā
  Praticī ca Mahānadī,
Yē pibanti—Jalam tāsām, manujā manujēśvara,
  Prāyo bhaktā bhagavatī Vāsudēvē amalā śanhāh.

The Bhāgavata cult is widespread in North India In all the north Indian languages such as Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marāthi, and so on there have been scores of saints who had lived this religion and propagated it. Yet it is remarkable that the purāṇa says that only the waters of the Tamiḻ Nāḍu rivers will give one any *bhakti*. No wonder. The origin and seed for all the bhakti cult of Vaiṣṇavism in North India was Tamiḻ the *Nālāyira-prabandham*. Love of God, *bhakti*, and mysticism, and bridal mysticism at that, is a gift of the Tamiḻ language to the whole of India.

The cult and tradition of Radha Krishna is an important aspect of the Bhāgavata cult in North India. Rādha is a *gōpi*, a companion of Krishna in all his *kriḍa*, the *Rāsa kriḍa*. Rādha is not generally mentioned in the south in the Tamiḻ language, but the Tamiḻ poets have created a fresh companion to Krishna here in the pure Tamiḻ tradition. And she is Nappinnai. Not only the *Bhāgavata purāṇas* but earlier works like *Silappadhikāram* and Āṇḍāḷ's songs celebrate the story of Nappinnai. The story is in the traditional Tamiḻ literary convention. Krishna in the purāṇas marries eight wives. But Nappinnai is different. Taming a bull is an ordeal set to a prospective bride-groom in the *āyar* (cow herd) clan for qualifying to receive the hand of an *āyar* girl in marriage. Krishna tames seven bulls and marries Nappinnai, who in all Tamiḻ legends becomes the counterpart of Rādha of the north. The concept of Nappinnai is a contribution of Tamiḻ poetry to the Bhāgavata stories and cult. This would indicate that the Bhāgavata is a common story, flexible, lending itself to local adaptations and serving as an integrating factor between the north and the south.

Integration Through Religion:

Vēdic sacrifices have been there in Tamiḻ Nāḍu for more than 2000 years ago, testifying to the fact of a single homogeneous culture had existed over the whole land. There was an integration long before this period. Many rulers are celebrated as having performed many vēdic sacrifices: Palyāgasālai Peruvaḻudi, Rājasūyam

vēṭṭa Perunaṛ-kiḷḷi and Sēramān Senguṭṭuvan are some of the Pāṇḍiya, Çōḷa and Cēra kings who had performed vēdic sacrifices.

The city of Kāñchī and the River Kāvēri have got included into the Sanskrit lore and thereby had assumed all india importance. Kāñchīpuram had been a great city glorious not only by its prosperity but by its religious and philosophic centres, temples and by its contribution to the composite culture of India. The Sanskrit saying is Nagarēṣu Kāñchī—among the cities Kāñchi is the most magnificent. I do not propose to deal with this subject at length except to point out one incident in history. Chālukya Vikramāditya II who was smarting at the crushing defeat and destruction of the great city of Vātāpi by the Kāñchī Pallava Emperor Narasimha at the time of his ancestor, took out a powerful expedition with the avowed aim of defeating the Pallava and destroying Kāñchī. At that time Rājasimha the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple had died and there was no powerful ruler at Kāñchī. Vikramāditya had a plain walk over. As his forces entered Kāñchī he saw the towers and the temple of Kailāsanātha. He was so moved by the beauty of the sculpture, painting, architecture and the newly built grandeur of the temple that he cried, "I shall not harm the city which has produced such a magnificent monument of art" and returned to his capital. This speaks volumes for the art of the city and for the fine artistic perception of the Chālukya.

The queen of the Chālukya, Lōkamahādēvi took the architects and sculptors from Kāñchīpuram and constructed a replica of the Kailāsanātha temple at a place called Paṭṭaḍaikkal (now known as Virūpākṣi). The architects are called in the inscription *Dakṣinā-cāryas* and the particular sculptor is called *Sarva siddhi āchārī* in the inscriptions at Paṭṭaḍaikkal. Inscriptions of Vikramāditya are also found at the Kāñchī Kailāsanātha temple.

As every one knows, Kāvēri is the only river that is celebrated in the Sanskrit lore. The *slōka* uttered by the devotees before dipping into the waters of any river or tank makes mention of the seven holy rivers of which Kāvēri is one:

Gaṅgē ca Yamunē caiva,
Godāvarī Sarasvatī,
Narmadē Sindhu Kāvērī—
Jalē'smin sannidhim kuru.

The cult of worshipping Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna, is one which has almost disappeared today from our country. Balarāma, brother of Kriṣṇa is one of the *avatārs* of Vishnu. In parts of North India like Orissa, we find today festivals celebrating Kriṣṇa and Balarāma and their sister Subhadra. Festivals are conducted for the three together. We have a reflection of this cult in the Tamiḻ Nāḍu of the past. Balarāma, also called Baladēva, is celebrated several times in the lines of *Silappadhikāram*. He is called '*Vālvaḷai mēni vāliyōn*', he is white in colour; and his banner is the plough. Āṇḍāḷ also addresses Baladēva in her Tirup-pāvai (verse 17). These indicate that at some period in the past during the first millennium after Christ, the Baladēva cult was one common to the whole of India.

Saints who went to North:

The many who had gone north in the different ages all took with them the Sanskrit culture. We have two rare instances of Saints from Tamiḻ Nāḍu who had taken with them the culture of Tamiḻ. By far the greatest is Saint Kumaragurupara Swami of Srivaikunṭham. He went from the far south to the far north to preach there the culture and religion of the south. His story is well known; I need not dilate upon it. Born dumb, he had the gift of speech and of poesy at the age of five from Lord Muruga at Tiruchendūr and from that moment he began to sing God's praises. He had sung in the Madurai Temple in the days of Tirumalai Nāyak and then he came under the spell of the Pontiff at the Dharmapuram monastery. From there he went to Benaras, a fully inspired and enlightened soul. Legends say that at the period, an assembly of religions was going on there, presided over by Dara Shuko, brother of Aurangazebe. Our Swāmi learnt the Hindustani language and mastered it in a short time. He entered the assembly and gave there an exposition of the philosophy he had been taught by the Pontiff at Dharmapuram,

namely the Śaiva Siddhāntha. His exposition was very much appreciated by Dārā. He gave him a gift of much gold and a large extent of land. The Swami built a monastery there and stayed in Benaras for the rest of his life preaching the Śaiva Siddhantha philosophy and propagating the religion. He built there a Śiva temple, large by Benaras standards and introduced there the form of South India's temple worship. The temple is called the Kēdārīsvara temple. The head-quarters of the monastery was shifted to Tiruppanandāḷ in the early 18th century, where it is still known as the *Kāsi mutt*. The monastery at Benaras called the *Kumāraswāmi mutt* continues still under the same line of Swāmis as also the temple and its mode of worship. Kumaragurupara swāmi sang there in Tamiḷ a decad of songs of the Tundi Gaṇapati of Kāsi (not extant now) and a *Kalambakam* poem on Lord Visvanātha of Benaras. It is a beautiful lyric on the conventional pattern and one verse therefrom will bear mention here as stressing the doctrine of integration.

> All the streams I see are the Ganga;
> All the Gods are Lord Visvanātha;
> All the shrines are the high—walled Kāsi.
> All my desire is only this—that I should
> Breath my last on the Maṇikarṇika Ghat.
> I am then game to dance with the Lord
> That dances with the ghosts.

Kumaragurupara had gone to Benaras as an ambassador of the culture and religion of the language and people of the South.

It is gratifying to note that in recent years, the head of the Kāsi mutt at Tiruppanandāḷ had made a liberal endowment to the Benaras Hindu University for the appointment of the necessary staff there to teach the Śaiva Siddhantha Philosophy.

The unique example of St. Kumaragurupara had made, a few decades later, the Head of the Dharmapuram Monastery, Sri Sivajñāna Dēsika Swāmi to go on a pilgrimage to Kāsi. He had stayed there in the Kumāraswāmi mutt for some years and had sung ten devotional songs there on the deities like Gaṇēsa, Visvanātha, Annapūraṇi, Visālākṣhi etc.

Political conditions in the 17th and 18th centuries were very unsafe and it is a great marvel that these Swāmis from the south braved all danger to go to Benaras and spread there their cult. This argues much for the feeling of oneness which prevailed in the land at that time.

Then there is the famous story of Bhāskararāya the commentator of *Lalita Sahasranāma.* He was a great bhakta and Sanskrit scholar, living near Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjāvūr district in the early 18th century. Learning that there was a great Sanskrit assembly going on in Benaras he went to attend it. One Swāmi Kumkumānanda had organised the assembly for choosing an erudite scholar to write an exposition of the *Sahasranāma.* The assembled scholars were asked to expound a *nāma* and the assembly would choose the best among them and assign to him the task. However, when Bhāskararāya entered the assembly and took his seat, the attention of all was on his forehead. For, everyone saw Laliṭāmbāḷ dancing on his forehead. No further certificate of merit was necessary as the Ambāḷ herself had chosen him and so he was commissioned to write the commentory.

Integration through art and culture:

The Bharata śāstra of Bharata mentions the *Dakṣiṇātya* as the source for all the details of dance explained there. Long before the date of any of the manuscripts on the subject available today, we find dance poses (*karaṇās*) engraved on the panels of the *gōpurās* in the Chidambaram temple with the names of the *karaṇās* inscribed as quotations from the *Bharata sāstra,* in the days of Kulōttunga II to Kōpperunjinga (the second half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th centuries).

The inscriptions at Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayam give information on music and mention the modes such *as gāndhāram kausikam* and *madhyamam.*

The *Indra viḷa,* we know from Silappadhikāram, and Maṇimēgalai, was celebrated at Kāvērippaṭṭinam in the past with great pomp and rejoicing. Failure to celebrate the *viḷa* one year brought about the ruin of the city. The *Indra viḷa* day is now identified

with the *Bōghi paṇḍihai,* the day previous to the *Pongal* festival. This is celebrated as the *Vasanta viḻa,* in the north, specially devoted to dance and music. It is associated there also with *Jayanta,* son of Indra. Silappadhikāram mentions Jayanta as an important figure in connection with the dance festival.

The Tamiḻ Nāḍu had long been famous for its architectural and sculptural art. The Tamiḻ people have been characterized as a race of temple builders in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica. There is also a tradition to the effect that architects from Tamiḻ Nāḍu were commandeered in the construction of the Taj Mahal.

Tirumūlar says in his *Tirumantiram* that his collegues had gone out into the four quarters as the propagators of the special gospel which he is heir to. He has said that he had come to Tamiḻ Nāḍu to propagate his special cult. Naturally his collegues would have gone to the four quarters of the country, the Bhārat, to spread the new cult he speaks of. As he always employs a mystic language, we fail to grasp the full purport of his preaching. Probably it is the cult which had since come to be known throughout India later as the Nātha cult.

The traffic in culture, philosophy and religion, and ways of living has been either way. Maṇimēgalai tells us that there were smiths from the northern states such as Avanti, Magadha and Mahārāṣtra who were employed here side by side with local artisans. Workmen were always in demand everywhere and in the words of Kaṇiyan Pūnkuṇran, any place was their place and any people their kin.

. There is another important feature which has gone north from the Tamiḻ country. *Silappadhikāram* and *Maṇimēgalai* would tell us that there were patron deities to the cities of Tamiḻ Nāḍu. We learn of *Madurāpati deivam* who was concerned with the welfare of Madurai and *Sambāpati deivam* who was concerned with Kāvērippaṭṭinam. *Kāmākṣi* is claimed by to be the *adhi dēvata* for Kāñchī. We have the modern concept of a Bhārata mātā, and extend it to the Tamiḻ deivam. We have this convention copied in the concept of Puṣkalāvati, who is the patron deity of Puṣkalā

or Peshawar. We find a lady of Tamil Nāḍu in the north, in Barhut making an endowment recorded in Buddhist stūpa. She is called there the lady from Kākanti; this is the name of Kāvērippaṭṭinam; Kākanti, because it was ruled over by the king Kakantan.

Integration through Folklore:

Tamil ballad poetry gives many illustrations to show that the people here had the concept of whole of India as one. When Arjuna happens to see inadvertantly Dharmaputra and Draupadi in their privacy, he is asked to go on a tirtha yātra—pilgrimage to the holy waters. He goes south and at Madurai, he cannot help indulging in romance which is his second nature. We have here the story of Alli, the Amazon princess of the Pāṇḍiya dynasty. This is not mere fiction. Rabindranāth Tagore has made this episode into a short immortal epic in his drama in the name of Chitra. The Alli ballad in the Tamil language runs to 6000 lines and is the most popular ballad among the masses.

Similarly there are many ballads in the Tamil language unheard of anywhere else regarding Abimanyu, son of Arjuna and Subhadra, and his love story.

These may be purāṇic stories. But there is a story which is part of history. Desingu of the ballad was Tej Singh the Rajput ruler of the Senji fort, who was killed in battle in 1713 A.D. The ballad begins with his going to Delhi and taming a celestial steed there and bringing it to his fort.

The Draupadi cult is part of the folklore of Tamil Nāḍu. Though she is the chief heroine in the great epic Mahābhārata, she has become fully a deity of the Tamil areas. There are innumerable temples for her in Tamil Nāḍu. That she came out of the fire has been the origin for the fire-walking ritual associated with the Draupadi temple and with all Māriyamman temples. We also have the reading of the Bhāratam in all these temples during the annual festival there in the month of Panguni (March—April). The reading is done by *pūjārī* of the temple, out of a prose

version of the Bhārata in palm leaf manuscript, and partly recalled from memory.

It is very common practice in Tamiḻ Nāḍu for the *pūjāris* to read the *Virāṭa parvam* in the temple in times of drought. This is being done even today, and people still believe that showers will fall when this is read. *Virāṭa parvam* is a canto of the Mahābhārata dealing with the exile of the Pāṇḍavās in the Kingdom of Virāṭa in disguise.

The Bhārata and the Pāṇḍavās had indeed become part of the folklore of this land. For example, anything five is related to the Pāṇḍavās. The Pāṇḍava *rathās* in Mahābalipuram and the Pāṇḍava caves in Pallāvaram of the period of Mahēndravarman (7th century) are instances in point.

Thunder is a natural phenomenon which evokes fear in many people. It is the habit today to utter the name of Arjuna whenever there is great thunder. Some would even recite a Sanskrit slōka listing the twelve names of Arjuna. The belief is that the mention of Arjuna would please Indra the Lord of the thunderbolt, who is the celestial father of Arjuna and that he would not harm the person concerned.

Modern Poetry :

Subrahmanya Bhārati, the great national poet of Indian (not only Tamiḻ) renaissance and the Indian struggle for freedom, is also the great poet of national integration. In all his songs, he projects the concept of India as a whole, linking geographical unity and cultural integration. The songs *Vandēmātaram (nāṭṭu vaṇakkam,* not the anthem), *Bhārata nāḍu, Bhārata mātā, Our mother, Bhārata Mātā's morning song, Bhārata Samudāyam*—all these sing the glory of a unified and whole Bhāraṭa nation.

He looks at the land in which he was born, and hundreds of his forbears were born, and blesses the land: 'This is the land where as young women, our mothers married and reared their hearths; here they knew the lure of motherhood and the pride of children. Temples tall and sacred, are scattered here'.

"Let us say Bhārat and stifle all fear and misery" sings he, and continues to narrate many of the great achievements which he dreams the future sons of India will accomplish :

We shall be proud of our Bhārat
We shall walk on Mount Everest
and our ships shall sail over the seven seas
The flood waters of Bengal, we shall divert
For the irrigation of central India
From the bowels of the earth, we shall take out
valuable material, trade them over the eight quarters
And bring back all that we need.
We shall sojourn over the Indus on a bright moonlit night
With young women from Sēra-nāḍu
and with songs in sweet Telugu.
Betel leaves from the Kāvēri, we shall barter
For the wheat of the Ganges, and present
The poets of Mahārāṣtra with the ivory of Kēraḷa.
We shall device tools to listen from Kāñchi
To the words of the scholars of Kāsi,
Will produce in mountainous heaps
Cotton fabrics and silken dresses and
Sell them to the world's traders for abundant wealth.
Arms we all make, and good paper too,
Factories no less than colleges we will found,
And shall not rest till these are done.

What glorious dreams and wonderful vision of a great India, some of them come true and some yet to come true!

HINDI LITERATURE

DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU

International Integration has all along been the Key note of Indian Literature and culture. 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' is the age old saying in Sanskrit, and 'Yādum Ūrē Yāvarum Kēḷir' as also 'Onṟē Kulam Oruvanē Dēvan' have been the basic conceptions since Pre-Buddha Period in Tamiḻ. This laudable tradition has been faithfully followed in all the modern regional languages

of India including Hindi, Kashmiri, Gujarati, Konkani, Marathi, Maithili, Malvi, Brij Bhasha, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Assamese, Avadhi, Dogri, Oriya of the Indo-Aryan Languages of North and Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam of South.

However regional sentiment is not wanting in expression in the literatures of all these languages. It is but natural to have the smell of the soil in the voice of poets and prose writers of any language simply because, shall we say, figuratively, blood is thicker than water. Mother, mother-tongue and mother-land are more attractive than even heaven to any individual with sincere sense of patriotism, as all of us have.

Nationalism is an intermediary inevitable sentiment found predominently in writers who have the breadth of vision and depth of observation. This sentiment also is amply exhibited in all the Indian languages of India. Generally Indian writers have had 'Āsēthu Himāchal', in other words, Cape Comorin to Kashmir, in their imagination while penning down their patriotic pictures. There are however certain salient, spontaneous outbursts of sublime expressions which go to prove that great men of India think alike; thereby reflecting national Integration. Such expressions are found in an abundant measure in Hindi literature, as of course in all the other Indian languages.

It was Kabir who has explicitly expressed that the entire Bhārat is linked through one sublime sentiment of Devotion, 'Bhakti' which in turn, as he mentions, has emanated from 'Drāvida', emphasising thereby that Drāvida and Arya, i.e. South and North of India, are but two sides of the same coin. Saint Kabir says in one of his couplets—

> Bhakti is Drāvida born,
> Brought to north by Rāmānand,
> Bugled by Kabīrdās in
> Broad lands oceans afar.

This is essentially a pointer towards national Integration on the basis of the fundamental concept of Indian Culture. He

further goes to explain the significance of Love or Prayer which is the basic trait for devotion. Kabir asserts :—

People die of bookishness,
Prudent is no one of them.
Prudent is he but who learns
'Prema' which is short in speech.

This reflects clearly the catching statement of 'Tamiḻ Vēda' Tirukkuṟaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuvar wherein he asserts in one of his Kuṟaḷ couplets—

Bookishness of what avail,
Bow not if thou at His Feet,
Being He source of wisdom. (*Kuṟaḷ No. 2*).

It is in such identical thought currents that National Integration can be observed.

Coming to the most renowned Poet-Saint of Avadhi, Tuḷasidās, we find an outstanding sample of the sublime sentiment in his picturisation of the Pre-Matrimonial love of Rāma and Sīta, a scene which is neither found in Vālmīki nor in any other earlier Rāmāyaṇa epic excluding only the Tamiḻ Kamba Rāmāyaṇam.[1] Tuḷasidās describes the scintillating scene by singing—

"Rāma turns and looks in that direction and his eyes are fixed on Sīta's face as the partridge gazes on the moon. Motionless stay his beautious eyes, as though King Nimi has deserted his eye-lids in modest confusion. Sita's eyes grow tired with gazing on Raghupati's beauty; even her eyelids cease to move; she is faint with excess of love like partridge when she looks on the autumn moon. She draws Rāmā into her heart, by the pathway of her eyes and carefully closes on him the door of her eyelids." (1.–265–74)

Tuḷasi offers a candid reason for this incident by saying—

"None knew that the love had been theirs of old."

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1. See, 'A comparative Study of Kamba Ramayanam and Tulasi Ramayana' by Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu, Published by University of Madras.

Let us now observe the same scene as depicted by Kambar who sang about four Hundred Years before Tuḷasidās. Kambar muses—

"So stood that maiden of rare loveliness
And eye caught eye and each the other ate;
As quite they stood, minds into one were fused!
The Hero looked at her and Sīta looked at him." (1-10-35)

"Enchained by lasses called her drinking looks,
And heart to heart each one adducing main
He of the handed bow and she with sword-like eyes,
In turn entered each other's heart." (1-10-37)

Kambar too has offered a candid reason for this incident, truly following the basis of Tirukkuṛaḷ and the Tamiḻ tradition, by saying—

"What need for any words when they
Who parted from their bed on ocean dark
Unite again?" (1-10-38)

What a close similarity though deviated from their original source of Vālmīki![2] An excellent example of National fusion of cultural integration indeed! Here it is worth the mention that Tuḷasidās, as one having visited the Four Dhāms including Rāmēshwara during his long 'Teertha Yātrā' before composing his 'Rāmacharit Mānas', had eulogised that southern spot by saying that 'those who make pilgrimage to Rāmēswara shall enter Vaikuntha, the heaven, when they leave the body, and he who brings the water of Ganga to offer in this place shall win that liberation which is the union with Sri Rāmā.' This statement religiously reflects the climax of National Integration.

Here mention may be made of Meerabāi of Rājasthan who sang "Mine is only Lord Krishna, the Giridhar Gōpāl and none else", as was sung by Āṇḍāḷ some centuries back in a very similar tone, "Should any body think of marrying me to a man,

2. On the basis of such evidences, it is observed that Kamba Rāmāyaṇam was one of the many sources for Tulasi Rāmāyaṇam. (See 'Kambar our Tulasi', University of Madras).

I would immediately collapse, for Krishna alone is mine". (Nācchiyār Tirumozhi). The two poetesses when studied together would lead us to the same laudable conception of national integration.

Similar integrating sentiments and emotional outpourings are observable in two Royal Poets of old, one of Brindāvan and the other of Tamiḻ-Kēraḷa. Raskhan, a Muslim Krishna Bhakta, prays—

"Oh Lord! If I am to be reborn as a man, make me one among those rustics in Gōkul; if a cow, one among those of Nand; if a stone one in the many of the hill of Gōvardhan which was lifted high by you; if a bird, one among those flittering at the banks of Jamuna in the branches of the Kadamba trees".

And Kulasēkhara Āḻvār of Tamiḻ also aspires—

> "May the birth that is my lot lies as a fish
> within the springs of Tiruvēngaḍam!
> "I would be a champak tree standing at Tiruvēngaḍam!
> "A road upon His hill!
> "O Mighty Lord of Vēngaḍam that I
> Thy coral lips might see, and lie,
> A step at threshold of thy temple, for thy slaves!
> "Oh to be anything at all on Vēngaḍam!"
>
> (Perumāḷ Tirumozhi—C. 4)

What a surprising similarity in their sentiments! We find a consummate excellence of emotional integration in the two poets of North and South.

If we go to analyse the feminine loyalty, we find the same hearty ideals in Hindi and Tamiḻ literatures. Bhiharilal of Hindi praises the lady-love by saying—

"The maid—in—confidence advices—rather loudly—the maiden to tease her lover on his arrival who did not keep up his word. The maiden promptly stops her by gestures not to talk loudly lest her lover ever—residing in her heart should listen".

(Bihari Bodhini—Doha *206*)

So also Tiruvaḷḷuvar had long long before characterised his ideal wife in a similar manner, when he said in one of his Kuṛaḷs—

"As my lover is ever in my heart, I fear to eat hot food lest it should burn him there". (Kuṛaḷ 1,128)

What an exquisite example of identical feeling during pangs of separation! We can quote several such parallel expressions from Biharilal and Tiruvuḷḷuvar, to prove that both reflect a common national culture, a like of which cannot ordinarily be found outside India.

Coming to modern period, we have several parallels, which are but natural after the national awakening. Poets like Bharatendu Harishchandra, Maithilisaran Gupta, Suryakant Tripathi, 'Nirala', Ramdhari Singh 'Dinkar', and several others can well be compared with Mahakavi Subramanya Bhārathi, Puratchikkavi Bhārathi Dāsan, Kavimaṇi Dēsika Vināyakam Piḷḷai, Nāmakkal Rāmalingam Piḷḷai and very many of their contemporaries. Similarly there are Prose writers in both the languages who have been and are thinking alike, expatiating National Integration. It may nevertheless be stated that mention has not generally been made in a pin-pointed manner about any geographical area of South, but the conception of the whole Indian nation has been there in the mind's eye of the Hindi author. Bharatendu himself, who is acclaimed as the father of the Modern Hindi period, has expressed his grief by saying—

Let us all join together in lamentation. Alas! Alas!...the ('Bharat Durdasha')—condition of Bharat has become Unbearable.

Rāshtrakavi Maithilisaran Gupta bugles out—

Oh Lord! May the voice of our Bhārati—Goddess Saraswati/ Hindi-resound throughout Bhāratvarsh.

stressing that there alone lies the salvation of the Nation. ('Bhārat Bhārati')

Poet Makhanlal Chaturvedi 'the Bhārateeya Ātma' acclaims —'Each one of the Indians should take pride in our Indian

language, dress, feeling and food', in other words in all that is Indian. (Bhārat ke Bhāvi Vidwān')

Immediately after the achievement of Indian Independence, one of our Hindi Poets from extreme South, describing the same ideology sings out—

Gandhiji today rules over our country—from Kanyākumari to Kāshmir. Hail Gāndhiji! Hail our Bhārat!

Today the Hindu is happy and so is the Muslim. Happy are the Sikh and the Christian. All live together with peace and pleasure in plentiful measure. ('Nav Bhārat'—Geetopahar)

Numberless lines can be quoted to amply and justiciably prove that the stream of National Integration is running through and through the modern Hindi Literature, and categorically state that India has a unity in Diversity.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

DR. K. K. RAJA

The concept of India or Bhāratavarṣa as an integral cultural unit is found reflected in Sanskrit works from very ancient times. The Vēdic seers considered the whole earth as constituting one single family.

yatra viśvam bhavaty ekanīḍam: AV. 2.1.1.

The earth is personified in the Atharvavēda as Mother goddess and the people are considered as her children.

mātā bhūmiḥ putro aham pṛthivyaḥ: AV. 12.1.12.

Even in later literature we find the concept of the whole earth as a single unit.

vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam

With the development of the theory of Karma and reincarnation this attitude became the logical one among philosophers. But along with this theoretical attitude there was also the realization

among the leaders of thought about India or Bhārata varṣa as constituting an integral cultural unit.

The Bhāratavarṣa is defined in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*: II. 3.

uttaram yat Samudrasya himādreścaiva dakṣiṇam varṣam tad Bhāratam nāma bhāratI yatra santatih. (Bhāratavarṣa is that country between the Himālayas and Southern ocean).

The *Purāṇas* praise Bhārata as the best country in the world, both for enjoyment and for action, Bhōga and yōga, and consider all the rivers and mountains and every bit of the country as sacred. It is stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that even the gods consider people who are blessed to be born in Bhārata to be far superior to the gods enjoying heavenly happiness.

gāyanti devāh kila gitakāni
dhanyās tu ye bhāratabhūmibhāge
svargāpavargāspadamārgabhūte
bhavanti bhūyah puruṣāḥ suratvāt.

(Bhāg. V.)

This is called *Karmabhūmi*, the land of action; it is superior to the other countries in *jambu dvipa* which are only *Bhōgabhūmis*, countries of enjoyment.

The same idea is put forward forcibly by SrI Harsa in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, in the mouth of Damayanti.

Varṣeṣu yad bhāratam āryadhuryāḥ
stuvanti gārhasthyam ivāśrameṣu|
tatrāsmi patyur varivasyayeva
śarmormikirmIritadharmalipsuḥ||

In that Bhārata country which is praised by the virtuous as the best among the countries, just as the householder's station *gārhasthya* among the four stages of life, I wish to serve my husband, doing my duty, variegated by waves of happiness. She again states that in Heaven there is only unalloyed happiness, but no work, whereas on this earth there are both work and pleasure.

svarge satām śarma param na dharmāḥ
bhavanti bhūmāviha tacca te ca.

One of the earliest references to the fundamental unity of India is found in the *Arthaṣāstra* of Kauṭilya, in the description of the field (of operation) of an Emperor *Cakravartikṣetra.*

Deśah pṛthivī : tasyām himavatsamudrāntaram udīcīnām yojanasahasraparimāṇam *tiryak* cakravartikṣetram.

The word *tiryak* is explained in the *Naya candrikā* commentary as *pūrvāparasamudrāvadhi.* Deśa refers to the earth. And in it the land which extends north to south from the Himālayas to the sea and measures a thousand yojanas *across* (from east to west) is the field of operation of the Cakravartin.

This shows that though the word Cakravartin may refer to a universal Emperor with suzerainty over the entire earth, normally by the term was meant according to Kauṭilya, an Emperor over the Bhārata varṣa, extending from the Himālayas to the Southern ocean from north to south and the two seas west to east.

In Kāḷidāsa's description of Raghu's *digvijaya,* the border areas are the places specially selected for the triumphal march of conquest, and this gives a fairly accurate account of the whole country under his overlordship, which is virtually the same as India, though it extends a little further to the west.

The description of the Himālayas in the beginning of the *Kumārasambhava* as the *mānadaṇḍa* of *pṛthivī* may be compared with Kauṭilya's statement that for a king to be an emperor of the world, the area to be conquered is only that to the south of the Himālayās. *Pṛthivyāh mānadaṇḍa* may then be interpreted as the boundary of Pṛthivī that is Bhārata, though it is not the accepted usual explanation of the term.

The concept of India extending from the Himālayas down to the *Sethu* is ancient and the term *ā sethu himālayam* was used frequently. In the *Śābarabhāṣya* on the *Mīmāmsāsūtras* the term *ā ca himavataḥ ā ca kumāryāḥ* (from the Himālayās up to Cape Comorin) is used more than once.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the Ādikāvya of Vālmīki where the place of action is the whole of India and Ceylon there is one verse

according to the popular traditions, though it is not found in the present text, praising the greatness of the motherland. Rāma says to Lakṣmaṇa that though Laṅka is prosperous like the heaven, it does not attract him, for the motherland, as well as the mother, is superior even to the heaven:

api svargasamā laṅkā na me Lakṣmaṇa rocale
jananī janmabhūmiś ca svargād api garīyasi.

Kālidāsa is the poet of Indian unity. He has described the various parts of India with accurate observation and sympathetic admiration. The *Mēghadūta* describes the lands from Rāmagiri in Central India to the Himālayas in the north, the princes from the various states are introduced well in the description of Indumati's *Svayamvara*, and in the description of Raghu's Digvijaya. The states mostly on the borders of India receive his special attention. Pāṇḍya and Kerala in the South, Kashmir and the mountainous regions in the north, Kāmarūpa in Assam in the east and the Pārasīka country in the west have been described by him.

There is no need to go into further details. Enough has been said to show that patriotism and the concept of the fundamental unity of India are not the gifts of the British rule in India.

P. Thirugnanasambandhan

'Jananī janmabhūmiśca svargād api garīyasī'—'Mother and one's mother country are greater than even heaven' is a well known saying in Sanskrit. As man advances and improves on himself, when a man becomes a fuller man, the self love expands into love of his wife and children, then his kith and kin, members of his clan, social or religious group and fellowmen of his country. We have had among us leaders of social groups, of schools of religions and philosophy as well as leaders of Nation. Man has got the potentiality to grow into greater heights of Universal brotherhood embracing all beings not only human but even non-human and become a citizen of the world. But the last is a distant goal.

History teaches that man was often pulled by narrow loyalties of language and religion, race and region, due to passion of *rajas.* The integration of a Nation is guaranteed only if it is constituted by at least a larger number of men of integral vision motivated by abundance of love to one and all. Such men are governed by discerning intelligence or sattva. Though it cannot be safely contended that there was a sense of absolute National integration throughout the length and breath of this vast land of ours, the Bhārat, during the historical period, still instances are not wanting of poets and philosophers, men of discerning intelligence in different times and climes proclaiming the greatness of integrated life, showing the path of unity and love. When individuals develop an integrated mind individually they would naturally contribute to the coming into being of an integrated Nation.

We shall notice here a few glimpses of the spirit of integration, of unity in the midst of diversity, of cohesion and harmony given expression to by them.

"What is an integrated mind?" queries Sri Krishna. He answers in the Gītā—'The knowledge by which the One imperishable Being is seen in all existences, undivided in the divided, know that, that knowledge is of 'goodness'.

> 'Sarvabhūteṣu yēnaikam bhāvam avyayam īkṣate
> Avibhaktam vibhakteṣu tajjñānam viddhi sāttvikam'—18.20.

Rājaśēkhara, the author of Kāvyamīmāmsā, advises the poet to think in terms of 'equality in the world' and eschew everything that militates against it. 'A poet shall conceive of equity in the world and not ask 'whence' and not think of 'mine'. Avoid anything that is not acceptable to the wise and pursue what is wholesome', says the author.

'Jānīyāt lokasāmyatvam kaviḥ kutra mama iti ca asammatam pariharēt, matē abhiniviśēta ca,' p. 164.

A Ṛg Vēdic seer addresses *Viśve devas,* all the various deities conceived in unison thus—

'Ye Deities who stay with us, and all ye Gods of all mankind'.

Give us your wide protection, give shelter for cattle and for steed' (R. V. VIII, 30-4)

In the famous 'Puruṣasūkta' of Ṛg Vēda we find the starting point of the pantheistic philosophy of India. Here the author refers to 'Puruṣa' the Supreme Spirit that is coextensive with the whole world including the Gods that has been and that will be'— (R. V. 10.90.2).

'Puruṣa eva idam sarvam yat bhūtam yac ca bhavyam'.

The Īśāvāsyōpaniṣad echoes the idea of the Universe being pervaded by one spirit in the opening line—'Īśāvāsyam idam sarvam yat kiñca jagatyām jagat'. 'All that we see in this world, a part of the fleeting Universe is the one where the Lord dwells'. Thus one is exhorted to look upon every individual person and object as illuminated by a divine spark.

The Upaniṣadic seers who evolved the philosophic thought of the One Supreme Spirit or Brahman saw the one underlying Reality in all the different creations with varied names and forms, in men of different races and regions of different languages and religion and so on. These differences would vanish once man becomes deeply aware of the fact that he is only a drop in the vast sea of humanity pervaded by Brahman; the impartible entity not bound by space or time in the same way as the rivers with varying sources and forms carrying names such as Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Kāverī etc. so long as they flow on the plains lose their individuality along with their names and forms once they merge in the ocean'. The Praśnōpaniṣad says—

'Yathemā nadyaḥ syandamānāḥ samudrāyaṇāḥ samudram prāpya astam gacchanti, bhidyete tāsām nāma rūpe samudre...(6, 5).

The Ṛg. Vēda urges men to follow the path of 'concord' in the famous mantra (X, 191).

'Come together, speak in agreement; may your minds see alike, even as the Gods of yore, in mutual agreement, took their offerings. May your deliberation be uniform and uniform your conclusion; uniform your mind and thoughts together'.

'Saṁgacchadhvam saṁvadadhvam...'

The Rāmāyaṇa as recounted by Vālmīki is a truly national epic which has been rendered into almost every language in India and either adopted or adapted by them including non-Hindus. Its popularity rests on the impressive character of Rāma, the ideal man who appealed to the higher self in every individual and it has moulded the character of the Nation. The integrated personality of Rāma had even in his own days an irresistible appeal not only to the sages and seers like Śarabhaṅga and Agastya but also to the layfolk like Guha and Śabarī, not so learned but intensely devoted and even to monkeys and birds like Sugrīva and Jaṭāyu. Such was his all embracing love and humanism that he was really a force of integration breaking the barriers of countries, birth and station in life, of what is sacred and profane, in short of every disintegrating feature. Vālmīki has truly portrayed this National hero as '*Prajānām hite rataḥ*'—devoted in doing good to his subjects, '*rakṣitā jīvalōkāsya*'—protector of all living beings, 'sarvalōkapriyaḥ'—'a fond lover of the entire world'. This was his signal service—integrating the whole personality of every individual by personal example. He was the very embodiment of 'dharma', '*Rāmō vigrahavān dharmaḥ*', the dharma of Bhārat which in spite of its inherent pulls and stresses which are at once a source of strength and weakness, has proved the test of time on account of the emergence of men of eminence and excellence like Rāma and Buddha, Aśōka and Akbar, Tāgōre and Gāndhi who appeared on the scene now and then and interpreted the core of that perennial dharma the chord that binds together our noble land.

Kings in ancient India though they ruled over regions big and small were conscious of Bhārata dēśa being one land and attempted with varying measure of success in establishing their overlordship over as wide an area as possible or at least desired the other rulers to recognise them as a suzerain king and tried to bring them under their sphere of influence and with that end in view conducted 'digvijaya' at the end of which a number of rulers far and near who were defeated but not unseated from

their kingdoms were made to pay their tribute to the suzerain king. Conquest is of three kinds (1) 'dharmavijay' in a battle where a righteous conqueror vanquishes his enemy but allows him to rule on recognition of the former's overlordship (2) 'lobhavijaya' where the conquest is motivated by land hunger. Here the land of the conquered is annexed and the ruler is spared his life and is perhaps given a pension (3) 'asuravijaya' where the enemy's territory is burnt and pillaged before being taken away and lives of the king and his people are not spared. Kāḷidāsa characterises Raghu's digvijaya under the first category. In the course of describing Raghu's conquest he says—'The righteous conqueror (dharmavijayī Raghu) took away the wealth but not the territory of the Lord of Mahēndra, captured but subsequently released'—Raghuvamśa IV-43.

The Pāṇḍya princes bowing down to him and offered him presents of the best of pearls collected from that part of the great ocean, where the river Tāmraparni falls into it thus giving him as it were their accumulated glory—Raghuvamśa IV-50.

The poet describes in this manner the conquest of Vanga and Kalinga in the East, the territories around Kāvērī and Tāmraparni in the South, Pārasika and Aparanta in the west, Kāshmīr and Kāmbhōja in the north thus revealing his concept of one Nation, the Bhārat breathing a blend of Indian culture.

Kāḷidāsa not only visualised a single cultural entity the Bhārat but has projected a poetic vision of a co-operative commonwealth of Earth and Heaven. King Dilīpa performed the Indra Mahōtsava by utilising part of the tax collected from the people in performing sacrifices wherein offerings are made to the gods in heaven; Indra, the ruler of heaven reciprocates by sending adequate and timely showers that help the vital needs of people on earth by providing the water resources for purpose of drinking, agricultural operations etc. The Daṇḍanīti makes reference to this twin aspect—'Rāja tu artham samāhṛtya kuryāt Indramahotsavam; Praṇīto meghavāhas tu mahatīm vrshṭim āvahet'.

The poet visualised not only a close link between the human and divine but also between the human and lower life like the trees and creepers. Śākuntalā never proceeds to drink water first before the plants she nurtures are watered by her, nor does she, though fond of ornaments as any woman generally is, pluck even the leaves of creepers through extreme affection for them.

Thus we find in Kāḷidāsa the grand conception of unity that embraces in its sweep what is described as '*Brahmādi stamba paryanta*', from the divine Brahma down to the earthly plant life. 'It is only the lowly that count in terms of one being my friend or my foe; for the lofty minded the whole universe is his family'.

> 'Ayam nijaḥ paro vēti gaṇanā laghucētasām
> Udāracaritānām tu vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam'.

If we realise the unity of spirit amidst the diverse beings and phenomena, the integrated symphony of the Universe, let alone the Nation, can be realised.

In every society perhaps at all times there are people who claim certain privileges banking upon their pedigree rather than real worthiness. Śūdraka, the author of the play *Mṛcchakaṭika* drives home the point that such people have no place in a lawful society. A villainous character in the play named Śakāra boasts about his being the brother-in-law of the local king and thereby hopes to escape the arm of law. But the judge makes the pronouncement denouncing his claim which has no relevance to law or civilised society. He asks 'Why describe your family, since one's character alone is the determining factor in the case before him'. He cites the example of the growth of thorny shrubs in a fertile soil which have got to be uprooted if useful fruitbearing trees therein are to grow. (IX–7).

In the *Veṇisaṁhāra of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa* Asvathāmā makes an insinuation challenging the right of Karṇa the son of a charioteer to lead the Kaurava forces. This taunt of Asvathāmā, the brahmin warrior was resented by Karṇa who conscious of his inherent merit as a fighter resented the insinuation and made an angry outburst.

'What does it matter whether I am a chariot driver or son of a chariot driver'. Birth in a particular family is but providential, but valour is my proud possession'.

'Sūto va sūta putro vā yo vā ko vā bhavāmyaham
Daivāyattam kule janma madāyattam tu pauruṣam'.

It has been truly said by Sri Krishṇa in the Gītā—

'The wise look equally upon a brāhmana endowed with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, a dog and an outcaste' (V. 18).

In all these statements of poets we find how they set their face against divisive forces and lay stress on an integrated view of life.

The Purāṇas deal with cosmology in connection with matters like tirthayātra and sthalamāhātmyas referred to therein. The purāṇas being a popular medium for the spread of education of a miscellaneous character both religious and secular throughout the length and breadth of India, naturally make occasional references to geographical facts pertaining to the whole of India. People are exhorted to visit places of religious merit spread over Bhārat. Such journeys as are made even today are as of old productive of a sense of National unity.

The 108 divyadēsās of Vaiṣṇavas are distributed all over India and spiritually evolved souls like the Āḻvārs and Āchāryas visited a number of them. While visiting these holy places they established spiritual communion with the local people and helped in their own way in bringing together people of different strata and locale. Among the 108 divyadēśās we find Haridvār and *Badariāśrama* in the Himālayan region, Pushkara and Ayōdhya in Madhyadēsa, Māyā in Bengal, Dvāraka in Gujarat, Simhāchala in Andhra, Kāñchīpuram, Srirangam, Vānamāmalai etc. in Tamiḻakam, Chengunūr in Kerala and so on. The seven cities, residence in which is supposed to confer liberation according to the Vaiṣṇavas are Ayōdhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñchī, Avanti and Dvāravatī. Visits to these places are designed to contribute to this breadth of vision apart from the ostensible fruit of religious merit.

Agni Purāṇa describes Bhāratavarṣa as bounded in the north by the Himālayas and in the south by the seas. The seven mountains referred to are Mahēndra on the eastern coast, near Ganjam, Malaya in Mysore, Sahya, the Western ghats, the Himālayas, the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and Śuktimān (A.P. 119.8). Besides the famous seven rivers, reference is also made to Kumarī. Incidentally it may be examined whether this has any reference to the 'Kumariyāṛu' the extinct river, having had its origin in the mountain Suktimān whose identity has not, it appears, been settled. If Śuktimān is taken to mean in its apparent sense of 'a mountain in the vicinity of a pearl fishery', śukti meaning pearl, this hypothesis appears plausible. In fact the Kumāratantra' an āgama relating to the worship of Kumāra, held to be an essentially south Indian God, refers to the river Kumarī as the eighth holy river besides Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvarī etc.

Sanskrit is not the language of any one part of the country nor of any group of people. It presents a pan Indian picture by the authors who wrote works in that language on the themes expounded therein. Schools of thought arising in different regions reflecting different and even discordant views, found in Sanskrit a convenient tool for conveying them across the table as it were to people in distant corners of the land. It is no wonder therefore that poets and philosophers like Daṇḍī and Bhāravi, Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Appayyadīkshita and Vēdāntadēśika were able to command the attention and in several cases admiration in other parts of the land. Even Buddhists and Jains who chose to convey their thoughts initially in their local Prakrits switched over to Sanskrit later when the latter served the role of a link language, linking at least the learned leaders of men in the various parts of the land. It is said by Sri Harṣa in his Naiśadham that kings who assembled from the various parts of India for the svayamvara of Damayanti spoke in Sanskrit, the only mutually intelligible language among them. Sanskrit was used not only for purpose of rituals, worship and philosophical discussions but also on occasions of a secular nature, for recording of deeds in inscriptions etc. throughout the country as occasion demanded it. There was exchange of scholars well versed in Sanskrit in great

centres of learning like Kāñchī, Nālanda etc. Renowned philosophers like Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti and Dignaga carved a name for themselves in Nālanda. Buddhaghōsha and Buddhamitra also went from Tamiḻ Nāḍu and contributed to the spread of higher knowledge amidst people in other parts of India. Commentaries in the Vēda written by Sāyana of Andhra dēsa and Venkatamādhava of Chōla dēsa were widely read throughout. Even in modern days we find Sanskrit scholars from the south go and teach in the centres of learning in Sanskrit like Calcutta, Benaras, Ujjain etc. Thus we find Sanskrit playing the role of an integrating force down the ages.

Muslim rulers like Akbar, Shah Jehan and Prince Dāra were patrons of Sanskrit. Poets like Jagannātha and Kavindra from the Telugu country were the favourites of these rulers. Such poets from the south have also contributed to the building of bridges of understanding between the south and north, the Hindus and Muslims. We find translation of Upaniṣads and Epics from Sanskrit on Persian arts and science. Jagannātha wrote Āsaphvilāsa praising the Nawab Asaf Khan, his patron. Kavīndra, a Hindu poet persuaded Shah Jahan to abolish the pilgrim tax on the Hindus.

The National spirit that was dormant in the bosom of Indians was galvanised into action and canalised in the right way by Gandhiji as a result of which an average Indian was taught to look back with pride on the achievements of their countrymen from the dawn of civilisation in the realm of philosophy, art and science. Poets in various languages arose to proclaim the Nation's glory. Among such poets was a lady, Lakshmi by name who sang in mellifluous Sanskrit the 'Bhāratī Gītā'. She conceives the Mother India girt by oceans and mountains the territory which is usually described as 'Āsētu-Himāchalam' and offers her salutation to her thus—

> Ā Himālaya kumārikāsthalam
> Pūrvapaścima samudra madhyataḥ
> Vistṛtam iha namāma bhāratīm
> Janmabhūmim akhilarthadam ca naḥ.
>
> —Bhāratīstotraratnam, 8.

Reference is made to philosophers and statesmen, poets and artists who arose different times and adorned Bhāratī, the Mother India. They hailed from Gujarat, Andhra, Karnāṭaka, Tamiḻ Nāḍu, Madhyadēsa, Uttaradēsa, Kashmir, Punjab, Bengal etc. The Divine Mother India exhorts her sons and daughters to rise above narrow loyalties of caste, religion, language etc. work in a spirit of selflessness and mutual love while adhering to one's language or religion and think as one man when it is a question of India as a political entity.

Jātiprasaktim svamataprasaktim bhāṣā prasaktim
Viṣayeshu saktim!
Santyajya sarvam sudṛḍham hyabhedyam
parasparasneha yuto bhaveta II
Svakam matam nirbhayam ātanudhvam
Svadharmaniṣṭhas satatam vaseta
Tathāpi rājyavyavaharakṛtye
Svaikyena bhāvena ca vartiṭavyam.

URDU LITERATURE

MD. YOUSUF KOKAN.

"Urdu" is a Turkish word, meaning "Camp". As this language came to be used as the *lingua franca* of the army men in the Mughal Camps, it came to be known as "Zaban-e-Ahl-e-urdu" (the language of the people of the camp). It was then shortened and came to be known only as "Urdu".

Amir Khusro (died. 1325 A.D.) is considered as the originator of this new language. He composed verses using Hindi words and phrases along with the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sanskrit words. It soon became very popular among the people. The poets belonging to different communities—Muslims, Hindus and Christians imitated Persian poetry both in style and contents. The various forms of Persian poetry i.e. *ghazals* (lyrics), *qaseeda* (Panegyric Poems), *mathnawi* (ballads) *marthiya* (elegies) *qitaat* (stanzas) and *rubaiyat* (quatrains) were adopted in Urdu Poetry. It looked as if the Urdu poets were transfering the same kind of human emotions and feelings in Urdu as found in the Persian

poetry. But as time went on, the Urdu poetry attained a definite and high status and the Urdu poets excelled their counterparts in persian in expressing the high ideals in sublime and superb language. It attracted the attention of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians and considered it as Indian language.

Persian remained as the official language for about five hundred years. All the current sciences were being taught in Arabic through the medium of Persian. But very few attained proficiency in these foreign tongues. When Urdu came to be introduced, hundreds of people began to express their feelings and thoughts in this language. The oldest lyrical poem in Urdu has been composed by a Hindi poet, Chander Bhan Brahman Kashmiri, a court poet of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan. The language used by him is very clear and contains words from Persian and Arabic. He says:

خدا جانے یہ کس چمن اندر همن کو لا کے ڈالا هے
نہ دلبر هے نہ ساقی هے، نہ شیشہ هے نہ پیالہ هے
پیا کے نام کی سمـــرن کیا چاهوں کـــروں کیسے
نہ تسبیح هے نہ سمرن هے نہ کنٹهی هے نہ مالا هے
پیا کے ناون عاشـــق قتل بـا عجب دیکهـے هوں
نہ برچهی هے نہ کرچهی هے نہ خنجر هے نہ بهالا هے
برهمن واسطے اشنان کے پهـــرتا هے بگیـا میں
نہ گنـــگا هے نہ جمنـا هے نہ ندی هے نہ نالا هے

"God alone knows who has brought us in this meadow where we do not find any sweetheart, nor the cupbearer nor the wine bottle and nor the cup. I would like to recite the name of my beloved. But how to do it when I do not find any roasary nor the thread of remembering the beloved, nor the necklace, nor the garland. I am surprised to see several lovers sacrificing their lives for the beloved when we do not find any lance or ladle or the

dagger or the spear. Brahman has gone into the garden to take bath. But there is neither Ganges, nor Yamuna, nor the river nor the canal".

We know that there was a strong movement of sufism among the Muslims advocating for the universal integration between the various communities in India and abroad. The Sufis implicitly believed in the oneness of the humanity. The Hindus were supporting the Bhakti movement. Urdu served as a common forum for both the communities. Both Hindus and Muslims took part in conducting the periodical Mushaaras (Poetical assemblies) and recited their compositions expecting ovation from the audience. Each eminent poet had a number of students belonging to different communities. Several Hindus sat at the feet of the Muslim saints and celebrated their annual birth days with equal zeal and fraternal affection. The Urdu language had made them one community having one uniform culture and one united ideals of life. One can not distinguish between a Muslim or a Hindu or a Christian when all join together in appreciating the excellent pieces of poetry and exhilirating their appreciations by pronouncing "Wah wah" "Subhanallah" "Mashaallah" "Al-Hamdu lillah" "jug jug jeo" "Sawa Sau Baras ki Hayat pao" etc. Some of these expressions are purely Arabic and of a religious nature. The Muslims as well as the Hindus and the christians have now become traditional in their attitude towards the human values. The Muslims give greater respect to "Kaba" the House of God at Mecca. They are not prepared to show any veneration to the religious sanctuaries of the other communities. The religious preachers and ascetics go on condemning the people for their disbelief in the religious rituals or enactments. But the Urdu poets just like the Persian poets have been fighting against such idealogies causing differences and dissentions among the various communities. Quli Qutub Shah (d. 1611 A.D.), an eminent poet and monarch of Golconda says:

میں نہ جانوں کعبہ و میخانہ و بتخانہ کون
دیکھیا ہوں ہر کہاں دستا ہے تجھ مکھہ کا صفا

"I do not know 'Kaba' (the House of God at Mecca) or a tavern or the temple of idols. Wherever I see, the clear glimpses of your (God's) face are observed by me."

Wali Awrangabandi (d. 1742 A.D.) another distinguished Poet says:

گر ھوا ھے طالب آزادگی بندہ مت ھو سبحہ وزنار کا

"If you want to be free, then do not become the slave of a rosary or the sacred thread." Siraj Awrangabedi (d. 1763 A.D.) says:

مشرب عشق میں ھیں شیخ و برھمن یکساں
رشتۂ سبحہ و زنار کوئی کیا جانے

"In the matter of love both Shaikh and Brahman are one and the same. Who knows the kind of relation between rosary and the sacred thread?"

Abru, another great poet says:

کوئی تسبیح اور زنار کے جھگڑے میں مت بولو
یہ دونوں ایک ھیں اور ان کے بیچ رشتہ ھے

"Let nobody talk of the quarrel between rosary and the sacred thread. Both are one and the same. There is a close relation between them."

He also says:

کیا شیخ کیا برھمن جب عاشقی میں آویں
تسبی کرے فراموش زنار بھول جاوے

"What do you talk of the characters of the Shaikh or Brahman. When both come in the field of love, the Shaikh forgets rosary and the Brahman throws away his sacred thread."

Waliullah Muhib, a Sufi poet, says:

رحیم و رام کی سمرن ھے شیخ و ھندو کو
دل اس کے نــــام رٹنا رٹے ھے کیا کیجئے

"The Shaikh and the Brahman are reciting the names of Raheem and Ram respectively. But my heart is continously reciting His (God's) name which I could not avoid."

Amir Minai (d. 1900 A.D.) says:

مشرب صلح کل ھے اے زاھد دیر بھی اك حرم کا سایه ھے

"O! the preacher we are the followers of the idealogy of peace with all. The temple is only a shadow of the sanctuary of 'Kaba'". He also says:

مقصود درد دل ھے نه اســــلام ھے نه کفر
پھر ھر گلے میں سبحه و زنار کیوں نه ھو

"The object is to make the heart compassionate. Neither Islam nor disbelief are intended for. Then why there should not be any rosary or the sacred thread around every neck."

Among the Urdu poets, Nazeer Akbarabadi (d. 1830 A.D.) holds a very distinguished position. He was the first to speak of and depict the Indian culture. He has sung several poems in praise of Hindu religious leaders and spoke of diwali, basant, yatra etc. He has also praised Guru Nanak and other religious heads. He upheld the cause of unity between the Muslims and the Hindus and the Sikhs. He made the people to feel that they will be held responsible for what they do in this world. They can not get emancipation or salvation just because they belong to this community or that community. His poem "Kaljug" (the Evil age) is worthy of our notice. He says that every one has to reap the consequences, good or bad, for what he does in this world. If he behaves well with anybody he will be honoured and praised by others and if he strikes at anybody with a thorn he will have

to face an arrow from others. He concludes that one is recompensed with good or bad if he treats others good or bad.

Dr. Iqbal (d. 1938) an eminent modern Urdu poet also has written poems in praise of Rama and Guru Nanak. He has composed a poem under the caption of "Naya Shivala" (New Temple) in which he says:

سچ کہدوں اے برہمن گر تو برانہ مانے
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ھوگئے پرانے

"O! Brahman! let me speak the truth if you do not misunderstand it. Your idols have now become old."

اپنوں سے بیر رکھنا تونے بتوں سے سیکھا
جنگ و جدل سکھایا واعظ کو بھی خدانے

"To pick up enmity with our fraternity you have learnt it from the idols. The preacher also has been taught by God to quarrel and discuss with others."

تنگ آکے میں نے آخر دیر و حرم کو چھوڑا
واعظ کا وعظ چھوڑا چھوڑے ترے فسانے

"I have forsaken the temple and the sanctuary of "Kaba" quite disgusted. I have left attending the sermon of a preacher and I have discarded listening to your stories."

پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ھے تو خدا ھے
خاك وطن کا مجھ کو ھر ذرہ دیوتا ھے

"You see God in the idols made of stone. But every particle of my country is an object of divine worship for me."

آ غیریت کے پردے اك بار پھر اٹھا دین
بچھڑوں کو پھر ملادین نقش دوئی مٹادین

"Come on let us remove the curtains of being strange to each other. Let us get the people separated from each other united together. Let us efface the marks of duality."

سونی پڑی ہوی ہے مدت سے دل کی بستی
آ اك نیا شواله اس دیس میں بنادین

"The dwelling of my heart is still and without spirit since a long time. Come on let us erect a new temple in this country."

دنیا کی تیرتھوں سے اونچا ہو اپنا تیرتھ
دامان آسمان سے اس کا کلس ملادین

"Let our temple be the highest among the temples of the world. Let us get its canopy joined with the horizon of the sky."

هر صبح اٹھه کے گائیں منتر وہ میٹھے میٹھے
سارے پجاریوں کو می پیت کی پلاوین

"Let us rise up from our bed early morning and sing our sweet songs. Let us offer the wine of love to all the worshippers and make them to drink it."

شکتی بھی شانتی بھی بھگتوں کے گیت میں ہے
دھرتی کے باسیوں کی مکتی پریت میں ہے

"The strength and peace are to be found only in the songs of the divine devotees. The salvation of the inhabitants of earth is only in love with each other."

This poem clearly indicates the line of thoughts which could bring the people of the various communities together. Religion should not prove a hurdle in getting the people together. Dr. Iqbal says:

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا
ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستاں ہمارا

"Religion does not teach us to hatch up enmity with each other. We are Indians and our motherland is Hindustan."

The preachers and the ascetics by nature are always critical of others as they can not see eye to eye in the religious and worldly matters. They go on instigating simple minded people against the intellectuals. Dr. Iqbal says:

کوئی یہ پوچھے کہ واعظ کا کیا بگڑتا ہے
جو بے عمل پہ بھی رحمت وہ بے نیاز کرے

"Let somebody ask the preacher why he feels uneasy if the Almighty God blesses an inactive person."

غرور زہد نے سکھلادیا ہے واعظ کو
کہ بندگان خدا پر زبان دراز کرے

"The pride of ascetism has taught the preacher to use his stingy tongue against the servants of God."

The Muslims and the Hindus were once very close to each other. They moved with each other happily. But the Britishers adopted a policy of "divide and rule" and thus created dissentions and differences between them. Dr. Iqbal says:

اے شیخ و برہمن سنتے ہو؟ کیا اہل بصیرت کہتے ہیں
گردوں نے کتنی بلندی سے ان قوموں کو دے پٹکا ہے

"O! Shaikh and Brahman do you hear what the wise people are saying. From what a height of their elevations these communities have been thrashed down on earth by the heaven."

یا باہم پیار کے جلسے تھے، دستور محبت قائم تھا
یا بحث میں اردو ہندی ہے یا قربانی یا جھٹکا ہے

"There were once the meetings of love with each other. All followed the law of love. Now there are discussions about Urdu Hindi or the sacrifice or slaughtering the animals by their necks."

The cause of communalism, according to our Urdu poets, is nothing but religious bigotry. The nations can not get united as long as there is religious bigotry. Dr. Iqbal says:

شجر ہے فرقہ آرائی تعصب ہے ثمر اس کا
یہ وہ پھل ہے کہ جنت سے نکلواتا ہے آدم کو

"Communalism is a tree, religious bigotry is its fruit. This is a fruit that made Adam to exit from paradise."

He also says:

اجاڑا ہے تمیز ملت و آئیں نے قوموں کو
مرے اہل وطن کے دل میں کچھ فکر وطن بھی ہے

"The discrimination between the nations and its laws have ruined the nations. Do the people of my country think of the betterment of my country."

Maulana Hali (1835–1914) says that to be a humanitarian is better than to be angel. But one has to exert himself to get qualified for the better stage. He says:

فرشتے سے بہتر ہے انسان بننا
مگر اس میں لگتی ہے محنت زیادہ

"To be a Man is better than to be an angel. But to attain that position he has to show greater and longer efforts."

The existing differences between the various communities in India could only be eliminated by creating a hormonious atmosphere

between them. The people should learn to behave with each other just like brothers. The reason for these differences is the ambition and selfiish desires. Dr. Iqbal says:

ھوس نے کردیا ھے ٹکڑے ٹکڑے نوع انسان کو
اخوت کا بیان ھوجا محبت کی زبان ھوجا

"The ambition and selfish desires have broken the humanity into pieces and divided them into several sections and communities. Now you become an advocate of brotherhood and a messenger of love."

Urdu literature has been nurtured and developed by both the Muslims and the Hindus. It has a long list of great poets and writers from the Hindu community. They are equally being respected and honoured by the Urdu lovers. The mathnawi of Gulzare-e-Naseem composed by Pandit Daya Shankar Naseem (1811–1843) is studied side by side with the mathnawi of Sehr-ul-Bayan composed by Mir Hasan (1727–1786) of Delhi. Pandit Birj Narain Chakbast (1882–1926) Durga Sahai Surur (1887–1966) have an important place in the Urdu poetry. We can never forget Pandit Ratnath Sarshar (1846–1902) and Munshi Prem Chand (1889–1936) as eminent fiction writers. Lala Sri Ram (1875–1907) has preserved for us the biographical sketches of the hundreds of poets in his immortal work "Khumkhana-e-Javid" in 3 big volumes.

Pandit Birjmohan Datatarya Kaifi (b 1866–) was a great scholar of the day. He remained as an important member of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu of Delhi.

The modern Hindu poets Raghupati Sahai Firaq, Jagan Nath Azad and pandit Anand Narain Mulla have been awarded prizes and titles for their inestimable contributions to the Urdu poetry. There have been a number of poets and writers in the Sikh community. Kunwar Mahender Singh Sehar and Rajender Singh Bedi are regarded as eminent poets and fiction writers,

We will never forget Dr. Ram Babu Sakseena for his standard work "A short History of Urdu Literature" which has served as a milestone in a comprehensive study of the Urdu poets and writers. The novels and short stories of Krishan Chandar (d 1977) have been and are being prescribed for various courses in Urdu.

There have been and now there are several lady poets and writers in Urdu who are immensely contributing to the Urdu language and literature.

Urdu is the only Indian language which has been and now is serving as a meeting ground of the people belonging to various castes and communities of India. It has brought the various communities together in the past and it will surely serve as a source of national integration in the future.

TELUGU LITERATURE

DR. G. APPA RAO

I am immensely thankful to the Institute of Traditional Cultures for giving me an opportunity of taking part in this symposium. The Institute rightly deserves all praise for it represents true culture in conducting such symposium as the present one.

At the outset let me say a few words about 'culture' before I discuss Traditional Culture.

Culture

The concept of culture is a comprehensive one. It at once includes and transcends such actualities as merit, power, academic distinctions and so on. Fundamentally, it is a development and a pattern of thinking. All the same, it is influenced by social *milieu*. Traditions and customs, language and literature, arts and sciences have all their part to play in shaping and modifying man's thinking. Hence "Culture", as a writer says,* is that compact whole which includes belief, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member

* Edwards Tailor's Primitive culture.

of society". Consequently, culture is various in its aspects, though one as it is conceived. That is why we have Eastern culture, Western culture, Northern and Southern and so on.

As an ethnic group we are, or we believe, we are Dravidians. We, namely, Tamiḻs, Telugus, Kannadigas, and Malayalis belong to the same culture, though differences do exist in some aspects of life such as language and traditions. What is common to the whole of our group is a characteristic that not only prevails but also unites us. This characteristic of unity serves a greater purpose to the group as a whole than the differences do to the elements that make up the group. Our duty, thus is to strengthen the unity of Indian Culture of which our culture is one element. A United Dravidian Culture strengthens an integrated Indian culture. There need not be any doubt of it because strength is indivisible and strength of a whole implies the strength of the parts.

We have to develop the ideal conviction that we are first Indians, then Dravidians, and then only Andhras, Tamiḻs and so on. This conviction should grow from strength to strength, leading to an emotional integration that our country needs today. With a variety of languages, traditions and customs, all contributing to the same end. Indian culture presents a delightful picture as beautiful and satisfying as does a garden full of different plants having flowers of different hues charming us in a hundred different ways. This is what we term "Unity in diversity". Has not the poet sung so, that we may constantly remind ourselves of this aspect of our culture? Does not our National Anthem give expression to it?

"punjāba sindu gujarāṭa marāṭha drāviḍa utkala vaṅgā"

Bharati

Bhārati is one of the foremost of our national poets. His vision is all-embracing and so progressive. He sang of India in all its diversity, yet India that is one and ours. Among the songs Bhārati wrote in praise of Mother India, the song "a boat on river Sindhu" is a noble expression of patriotic fervour.

பாரதி தேசம்

1. வெள்ளிப் பனிமலையின் மீதுலவுவோம்—அடி
மேலைக்கடல் முழுதுங் கப்பல் விடுவோம்
பள்ளித் தல மனைத்துங் கோயில் செய்குவோம் எங்கள்
பாரத தேசமென்று தோள் கொட்டுவோம்.

2. சிங்களத் தீவினுக் கோர் பால மமைப்போம்
சேதுவை மேடுறுத்தி வீதி சமைப்போம்
வங்கத்தி லோடிவரும் நீரின் மிகையால்
மையத்து நாடுகளிற் பயிர் செய்குவோம்.

3. சிந்து நதியின் மிசை நிலவினிலே
சேர நன் னாட்டிளம் பெண்களுடனே
சுந்தரத் தெலுங்கினிற் பாட்டி சைத்துத்
தோணிக ளோட்டி விளையாடி வருவோம்.

4. கங்கை நதிப்புரத்துக் கோதுமைப் பண்டம்
காவிரி வெற்றிலைக்கு மாறு கொள்ளுவோம்
சிங்க மராட்டியர் தங்கவிதை கொண்டு
சேரத்துத் தந்தங்கள் பரிசளிப்போம்.

5. காசி நகர்ப் புலவர் பேசு முரைதான்
காஞ்சியிற் கேட்பதற் கோர் கருவி செய்வோம்
ராசபுத் தானத்து வீரர் தமக்கு
நல்லியற் கன்னடத்துத் தங்க மளிப்போம்.

What a noble sentiment that knows no narrow bounds of "We" and "ours". If Bhārati's outlook does not reflect our unadulterated traditional culture, what can that blessed thing culture be? Verily, Bhārati is a national poet, patriotic poet and a poet of the highest cultural level.

Gurazada

Gurazada Appa Rao is another poet of the same order but sang in a different strain. Appa Rao's guiding principles are progressive, humanism and universal Brotherhood. His songs on "Love of Country" (country means India) deserves to serve as a national song for all humanity. His approach is rational and so practical. Love, than hate, patriotism than self-interest, and scientific approach than blind conformity are three major ingredients of the

themes of his songs. He believed that these three concepts are necessary to bind us into a united nation of a united country.

"dēśamunu prēmincumannā, manci annadi pencumannā
votti māṭalu kaṭṭipeṭṭoi, gaṭṭi mēl talapeṭṭavoi"

"īsurōmani manuṣuluṇṭē dēśamē gati bāgupaḍunoi?
jaldukoni kalalella nērcuku dēṣi sarukulu nincavoi"

"anni dēśāl krammavalenoi, dēśi sarukula nammavalenoi
ḍabbu tēlēnaṭṭi narulaku kīrti sampada labbavalenoi"

He discouraged mere platitudes of patriotism. One has to do some thing to his countrymen, to his neighbours. One has to help to increase goodness among men. One has to develop a kindly feeling for the people and try one's mite to help to solve their problems. People have to learn all available arts and sciences. They must shed their age-old lethargy, become progressive-minded and banish poverty and ignorance from our midst. They must work hard, produce wealth and compete with other nations and thus assert themselves as an entity among nations.

"dēśabhimānamu nāku kaddani vaṭṭi goppalu ceppukōkoi
pūni yēdainānu voka mēl kūrci janulaku chūpavoi

"sonta lābhamu konta mānuka poruguvāriki tōḍupaḍavoi
dēśamaṇṭē maṭṭikādoi dēśamaṇṭe manuṣuloi"

"ceṭṭapaṭṭal paṭṭukuni dēśasthulantā naḍuvavalenoi
annadammula valenu jāṭulu matamulannī melagavalenoi"

The progress of our country depends on our economic progress. Suffering and down-trodden humanity cannot contribute to progress. First banish poverty and ignorance. Do what little you can to help the poor and the oppressed. Love of country means love of people because a country means a people, not merely an extent of land with boundaries and the like. Even at the cost of our self-interest, we have to help others rise and prosper. Differences like the rich and the poor are dangerous to society and have always proved serious hurdles on the way to progress. First, remove them and find the path straight and easy. Differences do exist among men, different in creed, tongue and so on. If so what? If we are of one mind with respect to our immediate purpose of

building our country into a prosperous nation, these differences do not count and we can achieve wonderful results.

> "matam veraitēnu yē moi? manasulokatai manuṣuluṇṭē
> jātamannadi lēçi perigi lōkamuna rāñincunoi"
>
> "dēśamaniyeḍi doḍḍavṛkṣam prēmalanu pūlettavalenoi
> narula cemaṭanu tadisi mulam dhanam panṭalu
> paṇḍavalenoi'

Peaceful coexistence should be our philosophy of life so that mutual understanding and mutual respect may guide us in our duties to our countrymen. Then only culture becomes meaningful.

> "āku landuna aṇagimanagī kavita kōkila palukavalenoi;
> palukulanu vini dēśamandabhi mānamulu molakettavalenoi"

We may liken the country to a tree and a patriotic poet to a cuckoo bird. Then, the poet worth the name should be expected to live among the people as does the bird perch among the clusters of green leaves; and sing to inspire people to noble actions as the bird can be said to cause the sprouting of buds by its melodies among the leaves. Such are the ideas Gurazada tried to put into our thinking.

The need of the present is a culture of the type these two poets tried to redefine for us namely a culture that transcends the bounds of race, creed, caste, language and region.

DR. CHINNA KRISHNAIH

The Indian background and unity, which are national in character, are essentially cultural; they are religious but not in the narrow sense of the word. The culture is receptive and adaptable and has deep roots and a solidarity which none on earth could disturb. Like the ocean that receives the various rivers without loosing its stability, India assimilates anything and everything, even if it is alien, without undergoing any visual change. Even foreign historians have wondered at this unity in diversity. Vincent Smith observes in his 'Oxford History of India' (Clarendon Press, 1919) thus:

"India, beyond all doubt, possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."

Sir Frederick Whyte (in "The Future of East and West"—London: Sidgwick, 1932) refers thus:

"The greatest of all the contradictions in India is that over this diversity is spread a greater unity, which is not immediately evident because it failed historically to find expression in any political cohesion to make the country one, but which is so greatly a reality, and so powerful, that even the Musalman world in India has to confess that it has been deeply affected by coming within its influence."

Also, behind this integrated outlook of Indian heritage, was the ceaseless endeavour to find a harmony between the inner man and his outer environment. Thus, Indian literature in general, represents these cultural and philosophical aspects under a sublime restraint. Mere utterance was considered to be a verbal penance. The Bhagavad Geeta specifically mentions that it is a verbal penance to utter dispassionately and truthfully, sweetly and benevolently.

అనుద్వేగకరం వాక్యం సత్యం ప్రియహితంచ యత్, స్వాధ్యాయాభ్యసనం
చైవ, వాఙ్మయం తప ఉచ్యతే.

In fact, this stanza contains the rudiments to define poetry. Since proper utterance was considered to be a verbal penance, Indians proudly proclaimed the equanimous sages, Vālmīki and Vyāsa, as first and foremost of their poets. Later, it was declared that great poets are but great sages—or they are 'unacknowledged legislators of the world'. Geeta exclaims that scholars view everyone alike.

పండితాః సమదర్శినః

So, the cultural background and the equipment of literary art, had been moulding the integrated outlook of the Indian

Literature from times immemorial. 'United be the thoughts of all that all may happily agree'—

సమాన మస్తు వో మనో యథా వ సుసహాసతి

exclaims the Vēda. The ancient teacher and the taught took a pledge to live together, to eat together, to work together and so on.

సహ నా వవతు, సహ నౌ భునక్తు, సహ వీర్యం కరవావహై...etc.

The great Ācāryas tried to unite mankind in their own way. Itihāsas and Purāṇas, Kavyas and dramas carried the message of coordination and the spirit of integration in a subtle and suggestive manner. The 'Phala Sruti' of any literary composition has been to pronounce prosperity to one and all. Let me in this context, quote the popular Ramāyaṇa 'Phala Sruti':

"Let all be happy. Let all be hale and healthy. Let all be propitious. Let no one suffer any misery."

సర్వే భవన్తు సుఖినః,
సర్వే సన్తు నిరామయాః
సర్వే భద్రాణి పశ్యన్తి
మా కశ్చిత్ దుఃఖభాక్ భవేత్.

And so, it is this concept of integration—i.e. the unification into a whole of diverse elements for the welfare of mankind—that was the basis of Sanskrit Literature, which I consider as the National Literature. There, in that language, it was realised long ago that the Supreme Being is One although His Attributes are many—

ఏకం సత్ విప్రా బహుధా వదన్తి; ఏకో దేవః కేశవో వా శివో వా, శివాయ విష్ణురూపాయ etc.

So far, I had to dilate a little about the integral history of India and about Sanskrit, which has been the greatest treasure-house of this heritage for the simple reason that the Telugu Literature has imbibed the cultural heritage and also happens to hold a mirror for the Sanskrit Literature. Telugu poets, from 11th century till the end of the 19th century—i.e. from Nannaya to Chinnaya Suri were inspired Sanskrit scholars. It would be no

exaggeration to point out that but for the Sanskrit literature, Telugu literature would not have so excitingly flourished all these ten centuries. The Telugus proudly acknowledge the contribution of Sanskrit Literature.

Nannaya, the first Telugu poet, began to translate the Mahā Bharata, for 'జగత్ హిత' i.e. for the 'benefit of the world'. His first grammatical sūtra is. విశ్వశ్రేయః కావ్యమ్ i.e. A poem is for the universal welfare.

I wish to quote a verse from Nannaya which refers to a harmonious habitation. King Dushyanta visits the hermitage of Sage Kaṇva. There he wonders to find even the animals live in harmony and peace, devoid of their natural enmity. The parrots were reciting melodiously the Sāma Vēda; the elephants, attracted by the sweet 'Sāmagāna' stood there silently; the lions rested under the shade of the trunks of the elephants, enjoying the cool expiration of the trunks; nearby were playing the cats and rats, trying to share the offerings; likewise other animals were dwelling together in kinship. The king was astonished at the power of the sage:

సీ. శ్రవణ సుఖంబుగా సామగానంబులు
        చదివెడి శుకముల చదువు దగిలి
    కదలక వినుచుండు కరులయుఁ గరికర
        శీతలచ్ఛాయఁ దచ్ఛీకరాంబు
    కణముల చల్లనిగా డ్వాసపడి వానిఁ
        జెంది సుఖంబున్న సింహములయు
    భూసురప్రవరులు భూతబలుల్ దెచ్చి
        పెట్టు నీవారాన్న పిండతతులు.
గీ. కడగి భక్షింప నొక్కట గలసి యాడు
    చున్న యెలుకల పిల్లుల యొండు సహజ
    వైరి వర్గంబులయు సహవాసముపుడు,
    చూచి మునిశక్తి కెంతయుఁ జోద్యమంది.

This verse conveys that what the king could not achieve through his valour, the sage could realise through his discipline and selfcontrol. After all, the enemies—six in number—are within oneself and one who could win over these enemies, can certainly create a harmonious environment. This was the worthy ideal that the Poet Nannaya wanted to convey. The ideal of integration rather begins from within and it permeates and spreads through the surroundings and only through the concept of non-violence and tolerance.

Tikkana, the greatest of the Telugu poets and an administrator as well, had to face a religious conflict during the 13th century. The conflct was between the Veera saivaites and Vaishnavites. He could solve it amazingly, by re-introducing the cult of Hariharadwaita.

The main problem of the Telugus between the 14th and 17th centuries was concerned with their religio-philosophy. Superstitions and many an evil practice gradually crept in. It was Vēmana, a mystic poet, who mooted the mockery of anything that was irrational among the public, occasionally enlightening the integrating factors of life. For instance, he utters that all milk is white though cows are many; worship is same though flowers may vary and God is one though the glimpses may differ.

పసులవన్నె వేరు పా లెల్ల నొక్కటి,
పుష్పజాతి వేరు పూజయొకటి
దర్శనంబులారు దైవంబు నొక్కటి,
విశ్వదాభిరామ వినుర వేమ.

The following Sanskrit source for this verse is very popular:

మృత్పిండమేకం బహు భాండరూపం,
సువర్ణమేకం బహు భూషణాని
గోక్షీరమేకం బహుధేను జాతం,
ఏకః పరాత్మా బహు దేహవర్తీ.

The history of the Telugu literature till the end of the 19th century was reflecting in parts as to how India hung together

culturally and how India as a whole was their holy land religiously.

But with the advent of the powerful Nationalist Movement in India, the ideal need for political unity pervaded through the entire nation during the 20th century. The great patriots of India have inspired the Telugu poets. Poetry had a re-vitalising effect on the people. The inspired songs of the Telugu poets belonged to common themes of the Nation: Mother-Land, Tri-Colour Flag, Gandhi, Spinning Wheel and the Khadar, Prohibition and Uplift of Harijans.

The poets who contributed their mite to spirit of national integration through their patriotic songs during those days were Mangipoodi, Garimella, Gurajada, Rayaprolu, Chilakamarti, Balijepalli, Tummala, Jashuva, Duvvuri, Viśwanātha, Abburi, Kaloji and Dasarathi. All these poets have been inspired by Bankim Chandra Chatterji's 'Vandēmātaram' song. Of course, the famous Sanskrit stanza was delightful composition, already known to many.

Mangipoodi was the first patriot-poet to awaken the 'Son of the Bhārat' in Telugu. This song was 'Melukolupu' was followed by Gurazada's most popular poem entitled 'Dēśa Bhakti' and Rayaprolu's equally popular song 'Janma Bhoomi'. Gurazada appeals for National integration through his reason and logic thus:

1.	Forget a little your profit, And help your Neighbour benefit, Mere earth makes not a country But mankind makes the country.	సొంతలాభం కొంతమానుకు పొరుగువాడికి తోడుపడవోయ్ దేశమంటే మట్టి కాదోయ్ దేశమంటే మనుషులోయ్
2.	Holding hand and hand, Should march the countrymen, The castes and creeds should stand together to live like bretheren.	చెట్టపట్టాల్ పట్టుకొని దేశస్థులంతా నడువవలెనోయ్ అన్నదమ్ములవలెను జాతులు మతములన్నీ మెలగవలెనోయ్.

3. Differ may your religion let,
   If mankind lives with minds united,
   Society can stand erect
   to flourish well in the world.

మతంవేరైతేను యేమోయ్ ?
మనసులొకటై మనుషులుంటే
జాతమన్నది లేచిపెరిగి
లోకమున రాణించునోయ్.

Poet Dasarathi could see only one flag with three colours, only one land from Cape Comerin to Himalayas. Only one poet, Tagore, among poets of repute, and one and the only hero Gandhi, to lead a peaceful rebellion.

జండా ఒక్కటె మూడువన్నెలది ; దేశం బొక్కటే భారతా
ఖండాసేతుహిమాచలోర్వర ; కవిటాండమ్ము లోనన్ రవీం
ద్రుండొక్కండె కవీంద్రుడు ; ఊర్జిత జగ ద్యుద్ధాంతలో శాంతి కో
దండోద్యద్విజయుండు గాంధి యొకడే తల్లీ ; మహాభారతీ !

Finally, I have to make a mention of two of the greatest Telugu classics that this country had produced. They are 'Rana Pratapa Simha Charitra' by Durbhaka Rajasekhara Satāvadhāni and Śiva bharatam by Gadiyaram Venkata Sesha Sastri. Both these classics, tried to portray the unity of thought that existed between Muslims and Hindus while delineating the historical battles with sublimity.

I am constrained to conclude that the Modern Literature of the first half of this century may not leave any lasting impact on the minds of the people since it is motivated through a temporary ideal. Again, it would be only the old literature, which nourished certain universal and eternal values, that would comply with the need of not only the National but also the universal Integration.

DR. C. R. SARMA

Telugu is Dravidian in origin and Sanskritic in development. No wonder therefore that in its literature too are both the Dravidian and Sanskritic elements. This happy blending of different elements could be found in the various traditions and customs of Telugus. In short, it can be said that the outlook of the Telugus

is cosmopolitan which is a prerequisite for integration. Telugu literature is abound with a considerable number of writings pertaining to national integration though direct references to it are not made in them.

Besides words and phrases, Telugu has freely borrowed several themes from other languages including Tamiḻ, Kannaḍa, Marāthi etc. In other words, Telugu writers drew inspiration from their fellow writers in other languages and this inspiration enabled them to rise above region or language. Hence, the Telugu writers discarded the parochial approach and developed in themselves cosmpolitanism. We have in Telugu several works glorifying the life and work of the Tamiḻ Nāyanmārs or the Āḻvars or of the devotees of the Kannaḍa region or of Mahārashtra. Of course, the great *Bhakti* movement was the underlying factor for this wide outlook. Some of these writers who came under the spell of this *Bhakti* movement propagated in their writings the oneness of mankind, thereby indirectly referring to the oneness of the nation. A Telugu poet of the 13th century declared: "If a person ēndeavours to live as Siriyala in childhood, Sundaramūrti Nāyanar in youth and Gundaya (Tiru Nilakanta Nayanar) in old age, then it is alright. If on the other hand, he does not live as stated earlier, what is the use of such a life?"

To me, Palkuriki Sōmanātha of the 13th century seems to be the first Telugu poet who, through his poems, pleaded for an egalitarian society. To him, the devotees of Śiva irrespective of their caste or region were dear their soul-filling stories superior. We find in his celebrated works stories of the devotees belonging to the Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa regions. One of his poems, *Pandita-radhya Charitram*, mentions that devotees from different regions of the country used to visit the holy shrine of Śrisailam in Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh and worship Lord Mallikārjuna and his spouse Bhramaramba in their own languages. Sōmanātha has recorded the language of the Tamiḻ devotees in eight couplets.

It is worthy to note that Śrisailam (Tirupparupatam) and Sri Kāḷahaśti (Tirukkāḷathi in Chittoor District) of the Telugu region are considered by the Śaiva devotees as holy places of worship.

T. Subramania Pillai, the author of *Sivasthala Manjari*, mentions that there are 274 Śaivaite holy places in India, most of them visited and sung by the devotees. But, of these, only 44(?) places have been visited and sung by the *Mūvār*. In *Tēvāram* are found the hymns on Sri Kāḷahaśti and Śrisailam sung by the Mūvar, as detailed below.

	Sri Kāḷahaśti	*Sri Śailam*
Tirujñāna Sambandar	20	11
Tirunāvukkarasar	11	10
Sundaramūrti	10	10

In this connection, it is significant to mention that the devotees of one region visited regions other than their own and those movements must have helped them to a great extent to understand each better. Thus, Palkuriki Sōmanātha, by recording the actual utterings of the devotees hailing from the Tamḷi, Kannaḍa and Mahārāshtra regions, has indirectly referred to the national integration achieved in those days by the Śaiva devotees. Such indirect references to integration are found in other Telugu works also.

The credit for giving a new definition for country and also for realising the significance of integration should go to Gurazada Venkata Appa Rao, the harbinger of modern Telugu poetry. As early as 1910, he composed his memorable poem entitled *Dēśa-bhakti* meaning patriotism. The very first stanza commences with the following lines.

"Love thy country
Rear whatever that is good
Stop those empty words
Think of that which leads to prosperity".

According to Gurazada, 'Country does not mean mud, country means its people'. He is quite aware of the multitude of religions in our country. Still, Gurazada feels:

"What if, religion is different?
If people behave with oneness of mind
Nation will rise and prosper
And also shines in the world.

All the country men should walk
Holding their hands intimately;
All religions and nations should behave
Closely like brethren".

From these lines, it is evident that any country, even if it is multi-lingual or multi-religious, will prosper if people are friendly and work with oneness of mind. Unisonal mind is, therefore, the cementing factor for integration, according to Gurazada. He further observes.

"Country is a huge tree
Which should blossom flowers of love;
Wealth and crops should emerge
From that of peoples' sweat".

"How can a country prosper if the country men are morbid?" the poets questions. Finally, Gurazada observs. "Heaven will descend on the earth if the differences, religious and communal, are vanished".

During the Freedom movement, several Telugu poets and writers, inspired by Mahātmā Gandhi, wrote many poems and lyrics emphasising the necessity of national integration. But it is unfortunate that those writings charged with patriotism and national outlook are forgotten today. My considered view is that stories of Rāma and of Gandhi have united this multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-cultural country.

MALAYĀḶAM LITERATURE

K. M. PRABHAKARA VARIAR

This paper is a modest attempt to document, but not to review exhaustively, the references of nationalistic sentiment in modern Malayāḷam Literature. For the purpose of this survey 'Modern' will mean the period starting from 1900 to the present, roughly a span of three quarters of a century. I would like to make particular mention of the fact that the picture which follows is painted with a broad brush, otherwise it could not be contained within the scope of this brief study.

During the early decades of the present century the literary activities of Kerala centred around partly the Sanskritic heritage and partly the Western romanticism, the latter taking definite roots, heralding a New Era which was to dominate the field of creative writings in Kerala till about the forties. Obviously, those who turned to Sanskrit and its wealth of literature of inspiration could not make any contribution which reflected nationalistic sentiments. It was during the time of the romantic poets that we see glimpses of wider perspectives. Among the romanticists, three poets stand apart for their wholesome contributions to the enrichment of Modern Malayāḷam Literature.

The Trio, as they are often referred to, are Ulloor Paramēswara Aiyar, Kumaran Āsān and Vaḷḷathōl Nārāyaṇa Menon. The first of the above, besides being a poet of merit, was an outstanding literary historian and an ardent researcher. Among the Trio, he was less outspoken in regard to the feelings of nationalism, an obvious reason being the restrictions implicitly imposed on him as an officer serving the then kingly State of Travancore. Kumaran Āsān, was the doyen of the New Romantic Age in Malayāḷam literature. He belonged to a backward community, a consequence of which was that he, not only spoke for the liberation of the lower castes in some of his poems, but also actively participated in social reform movements. A notable feature of his works is that none of them had a purely regional flavour. The worlds which he tried to depict did not belong to the linguistic region to which he belonged. In other words, the characters of his story-poems are not people of Kerala, but people belonging to any part of India. The spirit of Buddhism exerted much influence in his creations. He visualized a casteless and classless society. In one of his poems, he spiritedly says that "A Harijan is not a mere wild grass sprouting under the paddy stem". Āsān, however, romanticised everything, including the ordinary mundane matters. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the power of exhortation, persuation and compulsion was not wanting in his poems. His works appealed mainly to intellectuals which always would be a minority. The third member of the 'Trio', Vaḷḷathōl, unlike the other two, was a 'People's

Poet. Vaḷḷathōl's writings exerted much more influence on the reading public of Kerala than any other writer of his times. He became a graphic spokesman for the gradually swelling liberal and literate minds of pre-independent days. His creative pursuits had many facets, and prominent among them was unequivocally the one which projected him as a trumpeteer of nationalistic ideologies. A critical evaluation of Vaḷḷathōl's contribution to Modern Malayāḷam Literature would seem incomplete unless considerable length is devoted for discussing the impact of his 'nationalistic poems' on the social and political movements of the pre-independent India. He openly identified himself with the freedom movement and proclaimed Gandhiji as his Guru. In a poem entitled 'My Teacher' his reverence and admiration to the Father of our Nation sparkle with such gusto as can be seen in the following lines.

> Only a country which has mothered Gīta
> could give birth to a Karma yogi like him!
> A lion, like him, who practices peace
> could only be seen in Aryavartha.
> Nowhere except the plain where the Ganga
> flows can we see a Kalpavrksha yielding prosperity.

How deep was his involvement in our freedom struggle, could well be appreciated when we recall that the most popular 'Marching song' for the Congress processions in those days, was the one penned by Vaḷḷathōl. Vaḷḷathōl did not limit his patriotic and nationalistic sentiments in his poems on social and political themes. Even his compositions on purāṇic episodes contained veiled expressions of the fervours of a nationalist and political crusador. For instance, in writing on Śri Krishna's subjugation of Kāḷiya, he says that 'this Karmabhoomi, with its tender foot can suppress the onslaughts of a mighty evil force' implying that our country, though physically weak, with its moral strength, can thwart the devastating erosions of colonialism. Although a Hindu by birth and by belief, the poet on many occasions had made public his tolerance of other beliefs. He has in fact written eulogisingly on Islamic and Christian themes. In brief, no other

Malayāḷam poet has ever vociferated on nationalism, patriotism, secularism etc. as much he did.

The Trio's period was followed by a brief spell during which the most popular of twentieth century Malayāḷam poets, Changampuzha Krishna Piḷḷai, endeared himself to the people of Kerala at large by his magical and captivating musical poems. The Edappaḷḷy school, as it was called because both Chengampuzha and his close associate Rāghavan Piḷḷai belonged to a place called Edappaḷḷy near Cochin, withered out as quickly as its dramatic appearance. Although their lyrical poetry kindled several young poets activating them to emulate the techniques and styles employed by Edappaḷḷy poets, both these poets did not bother themselves with the social and political atmosphere of their times. Therefore, Edappaḷḷy school does not come within the purview of our present inquiry.

The forties saw a memorable literary awakening throughout Kerala. It was in this period that the ideologies of socialism inspired a group of young Malayāḷam writers who started to revolutionize the literary activities of Kerala by their truculent and provocative products. The boundaries of literary themes expanded, and the Malayāḷam writer could not contend himself by narrowing down his interests to purely regional problems. His world became the world of the downtrodden humanity as a whole. The artificial barriers of caste, language, and religion that separated people were broken. The 'Progressive Writers' as they were called, concerned themselves with social as well as political problems that confronted the Indian society at large. We can clearly see how this new awakening brought to the front young writers hailing from all the major communities of Kerala, all of them interestingly enough, critical of the divisive tendencies that were gradually but persistently corroding the unity of people for long. Takazhi Sivasankaran Piḷḷai, Ponkunnam Varki, Vaikkom Md. Basheer and Kesava Dev were the stalwarts who were in the forefront of the progressive writer's movement of that period. All the above were writers of fiction. Takazhi mainly depicted how the agriculturists and other people of lower professions were

exploited by their masters. His 'Two Measures of Rice' and 'The Scavenger's Son' are two classics, the former projecting the miserable plights of agricultural labourers in central Travancore, and the latter, as the title suggests, probing the nightmarish existence of a group belonging to the lowest stratum of society. Ponkunnam Varki turned his attention to the ills prevailing in his own community, namely, the Catholic Christians of Kerala. He is a powerful short story writer and possesses a pungent style. Basheer tiraded against the orthodoxies of the Muslim community. He is a master of an inimitable style. Inherently a social critic, he titillated his audience with his satirical approach to social problems. Kesava Dev's method is to hit hard, the target of his attacks being the social institutions which dis-integrated the community. In one of his novels, 'Lunatic Asylum', he depicted the pathetically poignant drama of sufferings of both Hindus and Muslims immediately after the partitioning of India. These writers, together with scores of others, highlighted the evils of dissipatory tendencies existing in our society which marred the oneness—the Indianness–of our social life.

The sixties and seventies saw a number of creative writers in Kerala engaging themselves in spotlighting on the divisive forces which threatened the unity of India. Even the violent methods advocated by certain political ideologies are exposed to ridicule in contemporary Malayāḷam literature. Although we are not able to deal with these in detail within the scope of a sweeping survey like this, mention is to be made of two poetical works whose impacts are not negligible. Vailoppilli's 'Eviction' is a fervent appeal against the concept of 'inevitable class struggle'. Akkitham, on the other hand, in his well-known work 'The Epic of the Twentieth Century' lamented the illusions of people that social and political reformations can be brought out by violence and bloodshed. Both these master-pieces appeal to intellectuals rather than the ordinary people.

Several currents of ideologies exert their influences on contemporary Malayāḷam literature. Many of the younger writers are experimenting with new techniques. Our literature has never lagged

behind in projecting the image of a 'Unified India'. Although the Indian thought is expressed through several media, the common underlying spirit of Bhārat has always inspired our men of letters.

K. UNNIKIDAV

Jananī janmabhūmiśca
Svargādapi garīyasi.

"Mother and mother-land are greater than Heaven!" is a half verse I was taught very early. I think this eulogy of mother-land current in our country from the early age of Purāṇa and Śmriti literature reflects the sentiment of the fundamental unity of India from the earliest known period. The term nation had its modern connotation only during the 18th or 19th century. But Indians though lacking political unity considered themselves belonging to one territory which they termed as the land of Bharata, Bhāratavarsha.

So there is no wonder that our national poet of Kerala, Mahākavi Vaḷḷathōḷ sang in a peculiar strain:

Bhāratam enna pēr kēṭṭāl abhimāna
pūritam ākaṇam antaraṅgam.

At the instance of hearing the name 'Bhāratam' (ie. India) our hearts must be filled with pride.

As this sentiment is supreme in my mind I had no hesitation in accepting the offer of Dr. K. K. Pillay to take part in a symposium on "NATIONAL INTEGRATION AS REFLECTED IN MALAYALAM LITERATURE." Actually I am unable to find words adequate enough to express my sincere thanks to Dr. K. K. Pillay for giving me this privilege of taking part in this symposium.

I cannot but appreciate the time chosen for such a symposium. Sixteen months back (25th June 1975) emergency was proclaimed. "Important contribution of Emergency on the national front was that the anti-social and anti-national elements which had threatened the nation's unity and integrity and even survival are now in a state of total disarray and demoralisation".

So this is the proper time to consolidate the gains of emergency. Any attempt to provide durable links to cement national unity and integration at this juncture is praise-worthy. There is no wonder that our Historian, Dr. K. K. Pillay arranged this symposium during this period.

Fundemental unity of India is easily missed and lost in her continental extent and diversity. But any student who takes interest in the history of this sub-continent and progress of the Indians in culture and civilization cannot miss this fundemental unity among diversity. Two opinions on this fundamental unity of India are quoted here from an article of Jawaharlal Nehru. (INDIAN UNITY. p. 68)

Vincent Smith, in his *Oxford History of India* refers thus, what I have in mind: "India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundemental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political Suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, and sect".

Sir Frederic Whyte, in his book *The Future of East and West* also stresses this unity. He refers to the tremendous diversity of India and yet "the greatest of all the contradictions in India is that over this diversity is spread a greater unity, which is not immediately evident because it failed historically to find expression in any political cohesion to make the country one, but which is so great a reality, and so powerful, that even the Mussalman world in India has to confess that it has been deeply effected by coming within its influence".

Just to have a proper perspective of this fundemental unity we have to scale through all over Indian literature. Here the word Indian Literature is used as depicted in the motto of our Śāhitya Acadamy; viz; Indian literature is one though written in many languages.

The early progress of the Indians in culture and civilization was owing to their firm grasp of India as their common mother-

land. When the Vēdic sage visualised the earth as his mother, the picture of India in its completeness was before him. So the compilers and editors of *The Vēdic Age* (Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti-1951) rightly described the Bhūmi-Sūkta as the National Anthem of Vēdic India:—

"The exact form of Government, however cannot be ascertained from the Mantras of the *Atharva Vēda*. But that the people were happy and proud of their motherland is perfectly clear from the splendid Bhūmi-Sūkta (AV, XII, I) which might have been the National Anthem of Vēdic India".

Out of the sixty three verses in the Sūkta, English translation of nine verses are included (ib, pp. 410–411) which gives a clear picture of many hills and snowy mountains, numerous streams, rivers, and the ocean, herbs of various virtues, villages, forests, assemblies, congregations and councils etc, and bearing peoples of various speeches and of customs varying according to their homes. The diversity of languages and customs are fully depicted in the 45th verse. But the sage's declaration as,

"Earth is the mother and I am her son" clearly indicates how patriotic he was.

This deep rooted patriotism depicted in this and other Vēdic verses is astonishing. But the main thing to be noted is that the fundeamental unity of our motherland was well formed during this remote period.

From the Vēdas when we come down to the age of Purāṇas i.e. Mahābhārata and Śmritis we get a clear picture of our motherland, Bhāratavrsha. The Purāṇa expressly define the term Bhāratavarsha as "the country that lies north of the ocean (i.e. the Indian Ocean) and south of the snowy mountains (Himalayas), marked by seven chains of mountains Viz, Mahēndra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktimat, Riksha (mountain of Gondwana), Vindhya and Paripatra (western Vindhyas up to the Āravallis); where dwell the descendants of the Bharata with the Kirātās (barbarians) living to its east, the Yavanas (Ionians or Greeks) to its west and its own population consisting of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sūdras

(i.e. the Hindus)" (See Wilson's Vishnu-Purāṇa 11, 127-9) (quoted here from *Fundemental Unity of India* by Radha Kumud Mukerji).

One of our commonest prayers worship the image of the mother-land as the country of seven sacred rivers the Ganga, the Yamuna, the Gōdāveri, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu and Kāvēri which between them cover its entire area. Another prayer calls up its image as the land of seven sacred cities, Ayodhya, Mathura, Māya (modern Hardwar) Kāsi, Kānchi, Avantika and Dvarvati (Dwaraka) representing the important regions of India. These visions of our mother-land was strengthened still further by the institution of pilgrimage. The main relegious sects of Hindus (Vaiṣnava, Śaiva and Sakta, have their own list of holy places distributed throughout the country. Sri Sankara one of the greatest Keralite established four mathas in the four quarters of the country at Kēdārnāth, Dwāraka, Pūri and Sriṅgēri. All these give us a clear picture how our far-seeing ancestors established holy places in various parts of our land. They saw that India was one undivided land so made by nature.

The great epics *Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa* and the main purāṇas especially Bhāgavatha purāṇa is translated or adopted into almost all languages of India. So we find the same idea in almost all the literature.

In Malayāḷam we have several translations of these works which I do not propose to quote here. But the first quotation given here under is from an independent work Jñāṉappāṉa of Pūntaṉam Nampūtiri, a contemporary of Śri Nārāyaṇa Bhattatiri, the author of Nārāyaṇeeyam of the 16th century.

(Text in Malayāḷam)

"The earth is the mother of all and the wife of Vishnu; so Vishnu took his incarnations for protecting this world which is the best among the fourteen worlds. There (in this world) in the midst of the ocean of salt-water is the Jambudvipa. In the centre of the Jambudvipa stands the Mahāmēru mountain like the pericarp of the lotus. There are nine Khaṇḍas (countries or continents) in Jambudvipa of them the best is the country of Bhārata. It is

not easy in other countries and even in other worlds to attain Salvation as in the land of Bharata. This is such an important country.

Among the four yugas (ages) Kali Yuga is important from the point of view of Salvation. In this age one can get salvation only by reciting the names of God. As it is very easy (to recite the names of God) people residing in other thirteen worlds, and those residing in the other six dvipas and those residing in the eight other countries and those of other three great ages yearn to be born in the Bharata country at least as a grass. They always honour Bhārata country and Kaliyuga."

Mahākavi Vaḷḷattōl Nārāyaṇa Menon the famous amoung the national poets of India is well known all over the country. His poems induced national spirit during the days of the struggle for independance. He sang about the National flag.

> It is not enough, not enough
> and let the flag of our motherland Bhārata
> fly higher and higher day by day.
> Oh Brothers! the goddess of your independence
> is dancing on this flag of our motherland
> you flock together as brothers
> born of the same mother
> Wash your hands to take this sacred flag.

As my previous speaker had extensively dealt with Vaḷḷathōl's poems let me give some ideas about the works of some other poets.

Mahākavi Ullūr S. Paramēsvara Ayyar was another Malayāḷam poet who was always happy to sing the glory of India. Being in high Government office of the then Travancore state he was not able to sing instigating people to take part in the freedom struggle. But by singing about the past glory of India he indirectly induced his readers to redress the sorrow of the mother-land and act boldly and justily like the ancients of India.

'Annum innum' (Then and Now) is a beautiful poem of 53 verses which extols the glory of India of Dvāpara Yuga

(Mahābhārata Period) which is contrasted with the pitiable pre-independent India.

Oh mother! the only torch bearer among the countries of this world your sons fool themselves as they forget your greatness.

Though you have been reduced to a desert, once there shone the medicinal herb mṛtasanjivani. The sages who are the emperors of eternal bliss lived in you making all people happy.

Oh mother! I am remembering your golden age when the earth equelled the heaven.

[Not many days have passed after the disappearance of Pārthasārathi, our Supreme teacher, from this country].

He is one who lives in the ocean of milk still as a child; milk was dearest to him. Oh Mother India! he was satisfied by your suckling him.

His was not a solitary birth; cool moon rises only in a sky full of stars.

During that period several great sons were born to you. Krishna is just like the central pearl of that pearl necklace......

Poet continues in this trait and extols the great men of Mahābhārata fame, the worthy sons of India.

Mahākavi Ullūr Paramēswara Ayyar wrote a poem *Citra Sālā* 'picture gallery' pointing to their pictures and extolling the famous daughters of ancient and medieval India as a reply to the abuse of Indian women by Miss. Catherine Mayo.

Mahākavi Ullūr's *Karṇa Bhūṣaṇam* is a famous poem extolling karṇa of Mahābhārata fame. Sūrya 'the Sun-god' comes to advise him not to give away his 'armour' and 'ear-ring' to Indra, the king of Dēvās. He told Karṇa that he himself is Karṇa's father. Karṇa boldly replies to him that Bhāratam (India) is his mother and God himself who is the father of Sūrya, is his father.

Malayālee poets are generally nationalists. They cannot but have an all India outlook for they are depending on the stories

of Mahabhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and purāṇas for symbols and poetical fancies. It is not possible in this short paper to give details. As a general illustration let me quote some lines of Mahākavi G. Sankara Kurup.

In our 80 crores of hands lies
Thy renewed Vigour
In our 80 crores of eyes shines
Thy modern vision
Let the sound of Thy charriot wheels
echo with the same rythem in
our 40 crores of Hearts.

Mahākavi Kunhi Rāman Nair is a poet of Kerala in the sense that his imagery is taken from the day to day scenes of the village life of Kerala. Still he is proud of being an Indian and he is prepared to sacrifice his being for safeguarding the independence of India :

To hoist in front the eternal light of the beautiful Indian culture.

മാതൃചരണങ്ങളിൽ

മുന്നിൽക്കെടാവിളക്കായിന്ന ഭാരത
സുന്ദരസംസ്ക്കാരയഷ്ടിയുയർത്തുവാൻ
നീട്ടററനാൾ നിണം ചിന്തിയൊരിയ്ക്കുന്ന
കോടിതൻ ത്യാഗക്കടലിലുദിച്ചതാം
സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമാകുമമൃതകുംഭംകവ
ർന്നോടുന്നൊരക്രമത്തിൽ തലകൊയ്യുവാൻ
തൃപ്പാദപീഠത്തിലെന്നെയുടയ്ക്കുവാൻ
അമ്പിൽത്തിടമ്പേ വരുന്നു വരുന്നു ഞാൻ.

Several people sacrificed their life blood
In the ocean of that blood there arose
the ambrosia of independence.
Oh ! personification of love (My mother land) !

I am coming to reap the heads of those
who try to snatch away the pot of that ambrosia
and to sacrifice myself at the altar of
your sacred feet.

As sung by Śri Kunhi Rāman Nair I think there would not be any dearth of Indians to sacrifice themselves at the feet of mother India to save her national integrity and to wipe out the centrifugal and fissiparous forces who raise their heads to disrupt our unity and to deprive India of her rightful place in the comity of nations.

KANNADA LITERATURE

DR. K. KUSHALAPPA GOWDA

Under the British regime and until the re-formation of the States, Kannadigas were a people distributed in different states. The North-Western part of Karna:ṭaka was under Bombay Province, the North-Eastern part was under the Nizam territory, the Western and Southern tips were under the Madras Province and what little remained was only the small princely state of Mysore. During the national movement for freedom, the leaders and writers of Karna:ṭaka, had to walk on tight-ropes on two fronts, viz: (1) the struggle for National Independence and (2) the struggle for the unification of Karna:ṭaka. The latter was their immediate problem, as is reflected in a number of songs by various poets. Huyilagol Narayana Rao's poem '*Udayava:gali namma celuva Kannaḍa na:ḍu*' (May our beautiful Kannaḍa na:ḍu be born), was a prayer song in every meeting, or, function until the re-organisation of the states took place. It functioned in the region in the same way as '*vande: ma:taram*' and '*janagaṇa mana*' in National Front. Masti Venkatesh Ayyangar, M. Govinda Pai, R. S. Mugali, Santakavi, B. M. Srikanthaiya, Benegal Rama Rao and others have poured out the sorrow of their hearts on seeing the plight of Karna:ṭaka at that time. They spoke with reverence, of the past glory of Karna:ṭaka and with heavy heart, of the present disunity among its people, as well as the indignity they suffered at the hands of others. These poems were both powerful and attractive, as they were surcharged with emotion and sentiment and were capable to rouse people from their lethargy.

The same poets as well as a few others were also aware of larger interest of the nation. B. M. Srikanthaiya, in his poem '*Bharata ma:teye, bharata ma:teye, endu ni:taleyettuve*' 'O Mother-India, when will you raise your head erect', states that we (the people of India) have become the slaves in our own houses. In the conclusion of the poem, he wishes progress and prosperity to India, under the protective hands of the Queen of the Oceans (Britain). In *Bha:rata tapasvini*, K. V. Puttappa, opens the verse by saying, 'In this country of the Ve:das and sages, both the Heaven and the Hell are locked in the final battle of life and death' and finally he visualises that, once again Mother—India, would shine with all her splendour all over the world; and from the present ascetic form of hers, there will transcend the form of an empress. Sali Ramachandra Rao, is a fervent patriot and poignantly, he says that he wants nothing else than being born as an Indian, in future births also. 'I do not want either the sweet milk of the cow, or, the ambrosia of the heaven; O mother, I know the charm of your name and that is more sweeter than anything else to me'—he says. Further, his determination to be an Indian is revealed forecefully in the same poem, where he says, 'I do not mind eating the gruel prepared out of broken grains, or wearing rags, or, living in a dilapidated hut, but, I pray for only one thing, that is, to be born in your womb again'. Most of the poor lots are in the same conditions as described by the poet. In their daily struggle for existence, one is not too certain whether their mind will ever go to the edge of patriotism. However, the poem is effective in infusing a new purpose of life and a new sense of pride in the dark corners of their hearts.

These songs conveyed the message of patriotism effectively to the common masses and elites alike. There were other aspects of literature also like novels, short stories and dramas. Their main theme was social reforms which also is an essential part in the national integration. Question of Harijans, widow remarriage, rehabilitation of prostitutes and so on, have been dealt with in works of certain authors.

The problem of national integration is a recent one and therefore we get a few direct references as seen above. Can we project this idea to ancient Kannaḍa literature—is a question which may not get a direct answer. But, when we consider the history of Kannaḍa literature and the then political situation, the underlying principle of integration gleans out. Religious tolerance was foremost in ancient Karna:ṭaka. The Vaidika and non-Vaidika religions co-existed for long time. Vaidika kings were the patrons for Jaina poets and the Jaina poets wrote Vaidika epics. There were instances of inter-religious marriages and individual freedom of worship. The famous king Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's chief queen Sa:ntala, was a Jain, who caused the building of a Jaina temple for which Vishnuvardhana gave gifts. Sa:ntala herself was the daughter of the king's general Marasingayya, who was a Saivite, and his wife was a Jain. This shows the strong point of integration reflected in cultural and religious harmony that was prevalent in Karna:ṭaka.

About the middle of the 12th Century, we see a critical period in Karna:ṭaka. Former great dynasties crumbled down and Karna:ṭaka was split into different smaller kingdoms. As in political front, in social side also there was degeneration. Class difference was more acute and suffocating. Psuedo-religiousness, ostentatious rituals, blind beliefs and above all, the exploitation of the low-caste by the high-castes, were predominent. At this juncture, Basavaṇṇa and his followers tried to evolve a new social structure. Basavaṇṇa tried to eradicate untouchability as can be seen from his many vacanas. It is gratifying to note that what the Father of Nation tried to do in the 20th Century, Basavaṇṇa tried to do in Karna:ṭaka in the 12th Century itself. But, at the same time, Basavaṇṇa's failure also was similar to that of the Mahātma, which is the sad part of the story. He criticised the blind beliefs, and psuedo-religious pretensions. In one vacana he bursts out: "Do not simply besmeare the ashes of the hearth on your forehead; it is not the outward mark that matters, but the heart". He also tried to convince the people that this world, this earthly life, is more important and as this is the testing arena, if one is successful here, he will succeed in the other world also.

This is to counter-act thesemi-philosophical escapism of the society i.e., escaping from reality and taking in its stride that present suffering is the result of the sin incurred in the past life, and the present suffering is for attaining the good fruits in the future births or in the heaven.

He took into the fold of Vi:raśaivism not only the so-called high-castes, but also the people of lower strata of the society like the scavengers, washermen and ever so many others. Through his magnetic touch, such people who had no opportunity of education and higher learning, were able to take part in religious discourses and express their inner experiences in lucid vacanas. We find that his other followers were not much enthusiastic about the revolutionary idea of Basavaṇṇa in embracing the low and high castes in oneness. Their past life before conversion into vi:raśaivism must have influenced them in their new situation also. Almost all of their vacanas show religious fervour, but do not speak of the social reforms.

In spite of Basavaṇṇa's best efforts, the social disparities continued and again in Purandara dasa's songs (16th Century) the expression of sympathy towards the fate of the down-trodden is heard, though not with such high intensity as that of Basavaṇṇa.

When we turn our attention to the general condition of Kannaḍa literature, one would not fail to see that there had evolved a synthesis of an Indian culture. The language accepted many embellishments from Sanskrit and other languages of the Indo-Āryan family. The poets took their plots from the common national epics; the grammarians and other scholars followed the pan-Indic norms and patterns in their treatises. Thus, they gave a strong base for the Kannaḍa language, literature and culture to develop, imbibing all the good qualities of the outer world. Even some treatises were written in Sanskrit, which was the lingua-franca of the scholar-world of India. The idea behind this is to develop mutual understanding among different linguistic groups. 'We know others, let others also know us'—seems to be the motto of the Kannaḍa authors, of yonder age. We must

be happy to feel that those people had broader and exemplary outlook and kept an open mind, like keeping open the windows and doors of the room to get fresh air from outside. Thus, Nāgavarma II, starts his treatise on Kannaḍa grammar with the following prayer:

> sarvajñam tadaham vande parañjyotistamopaha: m
> pravrtta : yanmukha:ddeevi - sarvabha:ṣa ı sarasvati :

"I salute thee, Oh! Supreme! from whose mouth came out the goddess of speech of all the languages (of the world), who is the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance through her lustrous splendour".

Thus, in thought as well as action, the beating of the pulse of national integration can be felt in Kannaḍa literature, both old and new.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks thanked on behalf of the Institute the audience and the persons who read the papers.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

The March issue of the *Madras Universitas* published by the Department of Journalism, University of Madras contains illuminating articles, among others, by eminent journalists like V. P. V. Rajan and N. Ranga Rao, scholars like Dr. D. Sadasivan, Professor T. K. Venkataraman and also some students of the Department.

Sri V. P. N. Rajan pleads for the observance of the Code of Ethics by the journalists. Press has the sacred duty to offer constructive criticism on the policies of the government and mould public opinion on healthy lines. Professor T. K. Venkataraman reminisces about the good old days and recalls some of the happenings connected with Mrs. Besant and her denunciation of Civil Disobedience Movement, Sri Satyamurti's trenchant wit, Mahatma Gandhi's address to the students, some of the pioneers of dramatic art, *Kathakalakshepam*, music, *mushaira*, etc.

Sri N. Ranga Rao raises the question "Is stenography indispensable to the journalist?" and answers that it is, particularly for the reporters. Dr D. Sadasivan traces the development of *The Hindu* from its inception on September 20, 1878. Incidentally, "*The Hindu*" will be celebrating its Centenary in 1978. The learned editor Dr Sadasivan desrves congratulation for bringing out this magazine.

Dr. P. K. Sundaram.

TEMPLES OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

S. PADMANABHAN,

20, State Bank Colony, NAGERKOIL-629 001.

Sri S. Padmanabhan's book "Temples of South India" is a compilation of articles contributed by the author to various Indian newspapers and periodicals. It contains brief notes on twentytwo temples in different places like Tamilnadu, Mysore and Kerala. Most of them are well known pilgrim centres-like Rameswaram, Madurai, Palani, Kanchipuram, Guruvayur, Sabarimalai. Materials based on legend, tradition, literature, history, architecture etc. are given which will be useful for the ordinary pilgrim and tourist who wishes to know such information about these centres. There is a good account of the religious importance of the places and the various popular festivals that take place in these shrines. In the last chapter, important temples around Kanyakumari, Tiruchendur, Madurai, Srirangam, Tanjore, Chidambaram, Madras, Mysore etc. are given briefly which will be useful as a guide for the tourists. Material on art, architecture and Iconography are however inadequate.

Dr. K. V. Raman.